DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 172 730 IR 007 325

AUTHOR Grant, Stephen
TITLE An Administrative History of Out-of-School Educational Television in the Ivory Coast.
INSTITUTION Academy for Educational Development, Inc., Washington, D.C.; Stanford Univ., Calif. Inst. for Communication Research.
SPONS AGENCY Agency for International Development (Dept. of State), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE Dec 77
CONTRACT AID/afr-C-1158
NOTE 104p.; For related documents, see IR 007 333-336, IR 007 339, IR 007 347, IR 007 349, IR 007 363, IR 007 369, IR 007 370, IR 007 375, and IR 007 377

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC05 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Administrative Organization; Broadcast Television; Educational Development; *Educational Television; Instructional Programs; Longitudinal Studies; Nonformal Education; *Production Techniques; *Rural Education; Teacher Education; *Technological Advancement
IDENTIFIERS *Ivory Coast

ABSTRACT

This report describes the basic organization, management and evolution of the department producing "Tele Four Toua," the first attempt to use national television in the Ivory Coast to bring educational and informational programs to a non-school adult, rural public. The department's task was (1) to produce TV programs, (2) to train and supervise TV animators, and (3) to stimulate interest in and viewing of its product. Discussed in the report are the decision-oriented methodology of the study; basic background information on the project including target audiences, program objectives, and policies; detailed examination of six key features of the program; a comparison of the national plan for out-of-school education with the new directions of the out-of-school department, and an analysis of how the program fits in the context of national planning strategies. (JJC)

**********
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
**********

ED172730

AED

ACADEMY FOR EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, INC.
*a nonprofit planning organization*

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

# An Administrative History

# of Out-of-School Educational Television

# in the Ivory Coast

by

Stephen Grant

December, 1977

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Everett M. Rogers

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND USERS OF THE ERIC SYSTEM."

IR007325

This report has been prepared by the Academy for Educational Development and the Stanford University Institute for Communication Research for the Agency for International Development, Bureau for Africa, Office of Africa Regional Affairs under Contract No. AID/afr-C-1158.

TABLE OF CONTENTS


| | Page |
|---|---|
| FOREWORD | |
| Tuning in to "Télé Pour Tous" | 1 |
| SUMMARY AND OVERVIEW | 3 |
| CHAPTER ONE: ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY METHODOLOGIES | 11 |
| CHAPTER TWO: DEVELOPMENT OF THE OUT-OF-SCHOOL EDUCATION OPERATIONS | 19 |
| Major statements on target audiences, general program objectives and policies | 20 |
| Production-transmission-reception | 29 |
| Content and type of TV programs produced | 32 |
| Collaboration with agencies | 34 |
| Financing | 37 |
| CHAPTER THREE: THE CONTEXT AND CONSEQUENCES OF SEVERAL MAJOR DECISIONS | 39 |
| The program is managed by the Ministry of Primary Education and Educational Television | 40 |
| The Ministry collaborates with other ministries and development agencies | 50 |
| The use of television as principal communications technology | 56 |
| The program broadcasts in the French language | 59 |
| The program uses volunteer primary school teachers as animators | 63 |
| The program depends on foreign assistance | 71 |
| CHAPTER FOUR: CONCLUSIONS, IMAGE, AND PLANS | 76 |

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Cont.)

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Ministry Organisational Chart 91

APPENDIX B: Growth of Out-of-school Department Personnel 92

APPENDIX C: Subject Area and Number of TV Programs Produced 1973-77 93

APPENDIX D: Illustrative List of Sponsoring Departments of Co-Productions 96

APPENDIX E: Average Cost of Producing one 30-minute Film 97

BIBLIOGRAPHY 98

## FOREWORD

### Tuning in to "Télé Pour Tous"

Approximately an hour per week throughout the year, audiences watching evening television in Ivory Coast can tune in to a program designed primarily for rural adults, "Télé Pour Tous." The first attempt at using the national television capacity to bring educational and informational programs to a non-school public, TPT or out-of-school television has broadcast programs on a wide variety of subjects: agricultural cooperatives, child nutrition, tourism, household budgeting, home construction, recommended livestock raising techniques, water-related diseases and their prevention, the rural exodus, urban delinquency, employment and training, protecting the environment, and more. While any of the estimated 200,000 owners of television sets in Ivory Coast can turn on "Télé Pour Tous" on Wednesday and Friday evenings at 8:15 P.M., a special effort is made to organize and lead viewing sessions by turning school classrooms into temporary village or neighborhood education centers.

Besides operating a production unit, the out-of-school department maintains an animation program, whereby a schoolteacher, in a number of the 1800 schools (as of 1977) where instructional lessons are given over the television mornings and afternoons, returns in the evening to open and supervise the "Télé Pour Tous" programs. Pupils' parents and nearby inhabitants of all ages are invited by the teacher

to the school for the sessions. In urban areas it has been extremely difficult to advance such a system, mainly because so many viewers (including teachers) have access to home television and prefer to watch TV at home. Rural villages have constituted the main target, for personal ownership of television sets is still rare, and other competing evening occupations are at a minimum. The out-of-school department's task has been three-fold: to produce TV programs; to train and supervise TV animators; and to stimulate interest in and viewing of its product, "Télé Four Tous." Other reports of the Evaluation Service have covered the reach, impact, and cost of out-of-school television. This report concentrates on the basic organization of the department producing "Télé Four Tous," on its management, and on its evolution.

## SUMMARY AND OVERVIEW

The first chapter describes the methodology of this administrative study as a decision-oriented approach. Based on participant-observation; formal and informal conversations with project leaders, technical staff, program spectators and rural teachers; and on all available documentation since the inception of the project in 1973 through mid-1977, the study is a first attempt to examine the out-of-school education program from an organizational and historical perspective. The objective is to provide as accurate an analysis as possible of the context and consequences of the central decisions which have marked the evolution of the project. Since educational administrators appear to be increasingly interested in administrative histories, the chapter ends with mention of five similar or related studies which might interest the present reader.

Before directly treating key decisions made during the development of the project, the study presents the reader with some basic background information on the project (Chapter Two). The most lengthy section concerns target audiences and program objectives and policies. Five annual statements on program objectives have been isolated to trace the espoused purposes of out-of-school education from 1973 to 1977. The basic question of target audience is also raised: will it be youth or adult? rural or urban? schooled or unschooled? Declarations concerning what public the TV programs should reach do not remain uniform over this period. The original intention of reaching

a predominantly youthful age group (post-primary students) with a program of skills training evolved into a generally adult target audience with a program of informative messages of "sensitization," or awareness raising.

Four short sections in the second chapter complete the introduction to the out-of-school operations. The film production system, the transmission over the single national channel for home or school viewing, and the reception in schools where primary school teachers serve as "animators" for village audiences are described in the first section. The next section gives illustrations of the content and type of TV program produced. The following section cites the first collaboration attempts between the out-of-school education department and other ministries or development institutions in the preparation of films and traces how this collaboration has evolved. A final section examines the financial pattern for out-of-school programs and cites cost estimates for producing out-of-school films.

The third chapter contains the principal analysis of the report. Six key features or characteristics of the out-of-school education program are examined in detail, from their examination as decisions to the context and consequences of these decisions.

The first decision was to house the out-of-school program within the Ministry of Primary Education and Educational Television. Prior to 1970, adult education efforts in Ivory Coast were few and fragmented,

and did not rely heavily on the media. When education planners won out in their proposal to equip primary schools with television sets in an effort at radical reform and substantial improvement of the educational programs, they also suggested an additional TV audience composed of out-of-school spectators. Two years after the first in-school TV productions, the out-of-school program was born with an experimental series of five programs, also directed by the Ministry of Education. Boasting 17,000 teachers who could serve as facilitators for the out-of-school program in TV-equipped classrooms, possessing a film production crew, and having been awarded prime air time for evening television, the out-of-school department through its own drive and the default of others became the nominal czars of broadcasting to rural areas. Two problematic consequences of affiliation to an education ministry are introduced in this section: recruitment of personnel which, for almost all tasks, is limited to pedagogues, more precisely to former primary school teachers; and a laborious and rigid "payment for goods and services system" whereby the department is under constant restraints when it attempts to operate a film production company.

A second decision was to collaborate with other institutions in designing, producing, and promoting out-of-school films. Alongside obvious advantages of financial contribution, dealing with content specialists, and availability of extension agents, a few problems arose. To be nearer collaborators, the out-of-school program left the educational television center in Bouaké to become established

200 miles away in the capital, Abidjan. Henceforth it was obliged to rely heavily on studio equipment, personnel, and facilities of the national television office within the Ministry of Information. Relations with this Ministry have become stormy, concerning preparations of films, transmissions conditions, and general "mandate." A second ministerial connection which is characterized by strain and rivalry is with the (former) Planning Ministry and its National Office for Rural Promotion. Operational only after the education sector's launching of out-of-school television, this office was created to coordinate rural development programs. The out-of-school department plays a coordinating role itself — that of national education television — and is also charged with the production and broadcasting through mass media of educational messages for adult populations. With this ambiguity of responsibilities disbursed among all three ministries, jealousies and rivalries understandably result.

A third decision was to use television as the main communications technology for the out-of-school program. An inherited characteristic of the in-school program, of which the out-of-school program was an extension, television did not reach mass audiences. Approximately five percent of the adults with access to a TV school attended out-of-school programs: an average evening attendance nationally was 10,000 - 15,000. When one considers the nature of the TV medium, the infrequency of the broadcasts, the difficulty in understanding the French language sound track, and the unavailability of the majority of teacher-animators, relying upon this TV medium as a major catalyst toward rural modernization is delusionary.

A fourth decision concerns the language of broadcast. Another example of an inherited characteristic, all TV programs with one minor exception are broadcast in the country's official language, French. Most rural spectators have difficulty understanding French telecasts. They are dependent upon a translator-facilitator, who is not always put at their disposal. On the contrary, urban and educated audiences who have relatively little difficulty understanding French are much more familiar with out-of-school television than illiterate villagers. Needs assessment studies have revealed that Ivorian villagers are motivated for literacy instruction, first in their native languages, and secondly in French. Although there is now a slight recognition of local language importance, the predominant national language policy favoring French has not been strenuously challenged.

A fifth decision was to use voluntary primary school teachers as animators. As an extension of the in-school television program, it was natural that the so-called "out-of-school" TV for rural adults utilize the same setting, the classroom. However, parents experience psychological as well as physical barriers in traveling to a schoolbuilding on the edge of the village and in squeezing into children's desks. Neither by training nor personal inclination were most teachers well disposed to play the role of learning facilitator with adults. Their professional responsibilities had always been confined to children, and their relatively young age and generally distant origins constricted their establishment as authority figures with the adult community. Nevertheless most people agreed that animation was a key to the success

of the out-of-school operations. The incentive of a paid bonus for organizing adult TV classes might have produced more effective animation; but the system was at first voluntary, then mandatory; at no time remunerative. Realizing the nature of the major motivation behind the teachers' attitude, the out-of-school department has repeatedly and unsuccessfully presented justification for, and sought compensation for, the teachers' supplementary duties.

A last vital area to program development to be discussed in the third chapter is that of dependence upon foreign assistance. Approximately one third of the out-of-school program budget is contributed by the French government. Along with equipment and training (some training has also been carried out in Canada), expatriate personnel in the out-of-school department constitute a major input. Expatriate influence has relatively declined if one takes into account that 12% of the personnel in 1977 consists of expatriates, compared to 23% in 1974. Yet this minority occupies key positions and as such is strongly responsible for the quality and quantity of film production which is attained. In some areas training has produced encouraging results, but in the top role of film director the gap in knowledge and technical experience is so vast between French and counterpart personnel that a double standard has been established with no sure means of its elimination. The French filmmakers, very much concerned with their own professional future, have shown themselves more as ambitious film directors than as committed advisors.

Chapter Four presents conclusions from the preceding chapter plus a look at the image which has been created surrounding the out-of-school education program. A comparison of the national plan for out-of-school edutation with the new directions of the out-of-school department is also presented. It has been an uphill battle to place the out-of-school department in prominent national visibility and to keep it there. The out-of-school program has achieved national recognition through its semi-weekly TV program "Télé Pour Tous" and its persistent publicity in the national press. The criticism it has received in the press has been mixed. Rural dwellers are much less familiar with "Télé Pour Tous" than are urban inhabitants. The rurally based extension agents, the administrative officers, even village chiefs and elders have not shown a strong commitment to the out-of-school program. Since television viewing is already a very popular evening pastime in urban centers, and the same is becoming true in rural areas, "Télé Pour Tous" is now a well-known program. However, it is accepted more as a piece of entertainment squeezed in among other evening distractions on the television than as an intrinsically special and valuable means of educating or training the populace.

The last section of the report turns from operational issues of the out-of-school program to place it within the context of the national planning strategies which have been enunciated. The 1971-75 Five Year Plan included lofty, idealistic goals for out-of-school education such as to stem the rural exodus and provide youth with the means of production. After a period of groping experimentation with

out-of-school programs over television and at a time when the national coordinating body for rural development, the CNPR, was defining its program, the following Five-Year Plan announced very different objectives. The 1976-80 Plan was more practical, more limited, more specific. It called, for instance, for literacy. It called for more planning. It called for more human and less technological support. It called for a non-school form of animation.

The out-of-school department knows it is under pressure to seek new directions, both from outside consultant missions which have studied the department and from the new perspectives of the national plan. In 1977 the department produced several planning documents which suggest a reorganisation of the department along the lines of an "adults" program and a "youth" program; which propose different "formulas" of collaboration among partners; and which manifest the department's desire to become a vital force in educational broadcasting. The department is multiplying its efforts to train teacher educators in out-of-school animation. It is fighting valiantly to overcome two of its major handicaps: financial problems and an unreliable animation cadre. The department would like to maintain and strengthen its hold on the educational media in Ivory Coast to assure its own security.

## CHAPTER 1

### ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY METHODOLOGIES

This study is called an administrative history. It refers to administration in the management and functioning of one particular program: out-of-school education within the educational television project in the West African Republic of Ivory Coast. The historical dimension is provided by the study over time (five years) and by the nature of the discourse which seeks to place a chronology of events into the perspective of how they occurred and why they occurred.

The methodology used in this report is a decision-oriented approach. The program evolution from inception in 1973 through 1977 is analyzed by identifying and examining what appeared to the author and his research colleagues to be the key characteristics of the out-of-school operations. These characteristics can be traced to decisions -- some on the more explicit level where alternatives may have been envisaged or suggested, others belonging to a group of inherited "non-decisions," where the nature of the system dictated the direction taken. For instance, the decision to ask (or tell) primary school teachers to lead discussions with village spectators after "Télé Pour Tous" programs was an explicit decision, made in the light of studied experience and calculated alternatives. On the other hand, the "decision" to use television to reach rural adults was an inherited circumstance: television was already functioning in village schools

for youth; its use was merely extended to a new audience. Both kinds of decisions or characteristics are discussed together in Chapter Three, which contains the central part of the analysis. Six decisions are identified, the context of their origin is outlined, and their consequences upon program evolution are analyzed.

The usefulness of such a study stems not only from its methodology, but also depends on the quality of the data. The data sources were all primary ones, and constant over a several year period due to the author's participant-observer status as evaluator of the out-of-school education program in 1973-1974 and 1975-1977 while he was in residence in Ivory Coast and working for the educational television project under contract with the Agency for International Development of the American government. This position afforded a close familiarity with all project staff and available project documents. During the four-year period, several conversations were held with project leaders concerning project plans, problems, and evolution as well as to discuss specific points covered in field evaluation surveys. One formal interview was held in 1976, with the only principal project official that has left the project since its inception. The author's draft administrative history was discussed with the Ivory Coast graduate students and research staff at Stanford University who had directly contributed to the out-of-school education program evaluation efforts from 1974 to 1977. Its revision has incorporated the benefit of their comments.

Readers of this study may be educational planners, administrators, or evaluators. Some may be interested exclusively in the Ivory Coast experience. Others will be more interested in lessons learned from the Ivorian example, or paths followed which could serve as direct inspiration or forewarning as they undertake their own projects. It should be noted that this study, while being carried out in a framework of project evaluation, is not a typical evaluation study which tests hypotheses or measures impact. Nevertheless it responds to a concern many program administrators have expressed and are voicing increasingly.

It is not surprising that program leaders, researchers, and funding agents are becoming increasingly convinced of the usefulness of administrative histories. Systems analysis has pointed out the interrelationships and dynamic nature of program elements which are sometimes analyzed in terms of inputs, processes or treatments, and outputs. Studies on organization theory have produced bureaucratic models and have alerted program leaders to the importance of analyzing how a program is set up and managed, rather than looking exclusively at its finished "product." Considerations of efficiency have become paramount as businesses either through self-appraisal or through hired scrutiny commit themselves to improvement. It is in the interests of program improvement or lesson sharing that administrative histories, based on detailed observation and on attempts at accurate interpretation, are written.

Because project administrators appear to support the idea of administrative histories being kept, and because the number of studies of this type having been carried out is limited, it was thought appropriate to include in this chapter mention of similar studies. Their inclusion in the text may also be useful for a comparison of the different methodologies used.

A classic book on program analysis is Hirschman's "Development Projects Observed."[1] The author visited eleven sites of World Bank projects worldwide with the intention not of doing a systematic comparative analysis, but of looking at problems encountered in the various projects. This problem-oriented approach led to the discovery of typical uncertainties in projects, such as supply of commodities, general administration, financial backing, and demand for the product. The Hirschman study differentiates projects only in their relative success or failure at overcoming problems. A second useful point emanating from the study is that of differentiating project decisions and actions as being either "trait-taking" or "trait-making." These terms, borrowed from price theory, describe the acceptance of a given condition, the inheritance without question or without change (trait-taking) as opposed to a radically different posture where one creates new patterns, one originates policies and practices (trait-making). The preponderance of novelty or duplication is one of many continua which one can use to analyse projects. Finally, the Hirschman study focusses

---

[1] Hirschman, Albert O. Development Projects Observed. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute, 1967.

on the phenomenon of power which is invested in the leaders of a project or an enterprise. In regard to trait-making and power, Hirschman writes, "the reluctance to relinquish power is most likely overcome when the task to be undertaken contains a strong element of innovation."[2] This statement typifies the attempt to explain a bureaucratic or managerial phenomenon. Power is something that is sought after, and is jealously guarded. The risk of innovation creates a chance of inducing the empowered to loosen its grip on power, so strong is the fear of change and of an experiment with the unknown.

A second useful guide to consult when one is embarking on an administrative history account is Wilbur Schramm's "Notes on Case Studies of Instructional Media Projects."[3] Schramm names the three most common research methods in the social sciences -- the experiment, the survey, and the case study -- and suggests the parameters for the last method. The case study deals with major decisions; with their genesis and apparent effect. It is a description over time of why a given decision was taken, and what the decision resulted in. The present administrative history is an examination of program decisions and their consequences which precisely answer Schramm's description of a case study. A second contribution which Schramm makes to the

---

[2]Hirschman, op. cit., p. 155.

[3]Schramm, Wilbur. Notes on Case Studies of Instructional Media Projects. Washington, D.C.: Clearinghouse on Development Communications. A.I.D. Studies in Educational Technology, 1971.

definition of a case study is to cite the range of data sources which can be marshalled to compose such a study. It includes decision-makers, program makers, program users, researchers and critics.

One of the model case studies Schramm refers to is the Mayo and Mayo study on El Salvador.[4] The cited objective of this early look at the administration of a reform project in educational technology is to present the administrative lessons deduced so far (1971) from the television instruction in middle schools; to suggest a context for understanding the reform; to help educational planners elsewhere. It is not the objective to find fault. The body of the report concentrates on the following four themes: the original impetus behind the educational reform; the problems encountered from the reform; measuring success of project administration and training; finally, assessing the contribution of foreign advisors. The data sources utilized to provide evidence for the Mayo analysis were the following: project documents, the funding agent's (USAID) files, interviews, and participant observation. While at its appearance this report was criticized by some as reflecting unfavorably on aspects of the El Salvador reform, with the passage of years it now seems to be regarded as a highly valuable portrait of the critical early years of the project's administration.

---

[4] Mayo, John K. and Judith A. An Administrative History of El Salvador's Educational Reform. Washington, D.C.: Clearinghouse on Development Communication, A.I.D. Studies in Educational Technology, 1971.

An early evaluation of a TV-through-satellite program in the Rocky Mountain region of the United States[5] included a methodology section where five alternatives were considered prior to report writing. One: a chronological approach. Two: a problem-oriented approach. Three: an approach which follows step by step the structure of the program. Four: selecting particular topics or functions. A fifth alternative was chosen which involves a combination of the others.

The last document, although not a methodology for writing case studies, is nonetheless helpful in trying to identify the key characteristics of a successful communications project. It is an as yet unpublished work by Alan Hancock[6] which in its draft form contains as many as thirty-one principles which planning projects in educational technology should include. Some examples of these principles concern personalities: "the project should have influential lead figures; the users should be involved in decision-making." Other illustrations pertain to the conditions surrounding the project: "the objectives should be well defined; roles and responsibilities should be assigned." A third category entitled "context" includes such principles as: "external models should not be imposed; the existing infrastructure should be well used." The Hancock manual is not designed merely as

---

[5] Markle, David G. and Nancy H.; Carlberg, Conrad G.; Foote, Dennis H. Final Report: History and Recommendations Resulting from Evaluation Planning for the Federation of Rocky Mountain States' Educational Technology Demonstration. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1974.

[6] Hancock, Alan: Communication Planning for Development: An Operational Framework (forthcoming).

a theoretical guide to communication planners. The author applies his own set of principles to concrete field projects. As well as being helpful in providing a framework with which to assess a project underway, the manual can be beneficial already in the project planning stage.

## CHAPTER 2

### DEVELOPMENT OF OUT-OF-SCHOOL EDUCATION OPERATIONS

This chapter begins with a chronological review of major declarations issued by the out-of-school department concerning its objectives, its policies, and its target audiences. Five annual statements have been identified to trace the espoused purposes of out-of-school education from 1973 to 1977. After this part, four short sections complete the introduction to out-of-school operations. Some elements of these descriptive sections -- on production-transmission-reception; content and type of TV programs; collaboration with agencies; and financing -- will reappear in the report later during the critical analysis.

## Major Statements on Target Audiences, General Program Objectives and Policies

From 1968 to 1977, Ivorian educational leaders have attributed various objectives to the out-of-school TV project and designated different audiences as prime targets for out-of-school education. First, it must be emphatically stated that the educational reform conceived for Ivory Coast in the late 1960s was predominantly an in-school reform, involving primary teacher training, curriculum revision, the introduction of televised instruction.[7] The utilization of television to reach audiences other than primary school pupils and in-service teachers was planned but was enacted only on a reduced level once the in-school program was in its second broadcasting year.

The first substantial proposal[8] for an out-of-school education component to the national reform envisaged a new brand of teacher/animator responsible for two tasks: dispensing a three-year program to post-primary education students (13-17 years of age) and, in addition, organizing adult education along nondirective lines. Both systems would rely heavily on television and other media. The objective of

---

[7] République de Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère de l'éducation nationale. Principes et modalités d'application des nouvelles techniques et méthodes pour l'enseignement du premier degré, l'éducation post-primaire et la formation des maîtres, Volume 1. Paris: no date (c. 1968)

[8] République de Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère de l'éducation nationale. Principes et modalités d'application des nouvelles techniques et méthodes pour l'éducation extra-scolaire des jeunes, l'éducation des adultes et la formation des éducateurs, Volume 4, no place, no date (c. 1971)

the first program was to train youth to participate in the development process and in its own "milieu." The other program's goals were also socio-economic, such as increased village production, growth of marketing cooperatives, and encouragement of collective reflection and action in decisions facing a village constituency.

By the time that a second major statement on out-of-school education was pronounced,[9] a pilot TV program series was already underway, with the Education Ministry collaborating with the Ministries of Information, Agriculture, and Health in producing half-hour programs for evening viewing in TV schools by the general non-school population. In other words, the 1973 statement derived from empirical experience by a production and broadcasting team, not from the wishful projections of an outside consultant, as was the case of the first statement. The 1973 statement rings like a charter or a policy address and is, in fact, much more preoccupied with cooperation, with the sharing of power and responsibility in educational broadcasting than with target audiences or objectives. "The out-of-school education program constitutes a production and animation[10] service at the disposal of other Ministries ... The out-of-school education program covers several content areas outside of education, consequently it is not

---

[9]République de Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère de l'éducation nationale. Actualisation du programme d'éducation télévisuelle. Abidjan, 1973.

[10]Animation, animator, animate refer to the action of leading discussions after TV programs in order to test and increase comprehension by rural TV audiences of the TV message, and generally raising viewer interest and participation in such development activities as propounded in "TV for Everybody" programs.

Education's only prerogative ... Educational television is one tool, but neither TV nor mass media are the only means of providing out-of-school education ... Education should work at the request of Ministries and development agencies in preparing TV programs all the while guaranteeing their educational and TV quality ... Representatives from Ministries and development agencies should have a permanent link with out-of-school program staff." These declarations represent an official attempt at defining a working relationship among ordained seats of power, where the recipe of how to put the meal together seems more significant than the beneficiary or the benefits of the repast.

In 1974 an international colloquium on out-of-school education held in Ivory Coast gave the opportunity to the out-of-school education director to define his program goals:[11] inform the population about national political development; obtain adhesion of the masses to national development; inform both rural and urban viewers on the improvement of their living environment, their sanitary conditions, and their nutrition; inform Ivorians about their national cultural heritage. In order to stem the rural exodus, the director furthermore proposed to aim at post-primary school youth programs on activities which would discourage them from leaving the village. The declaration maintains the coexistence of more than one target audience: both post-primary school youth and general rural plus urban

---

[11] République de Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère de l'éducation nationale, Sous-direction de l'éducation extra-scolaire. Colloque sur les technologies de l'éducation extra-scolaire, Rapport final. Abidjan, 1974.

spectators. The goals are oriented toward political awareness and participation, first; then toward improving the general standard of living; next toward adopting a national identity; finally toward struggling against the attraction of youth to the cities. The goals and reach of out-of-school education are vast; attempts at pinning down the more concrete objectives, or at learning of an adult education philosophy in the director's address were fruitless. Indeed, a detailed analysis of the address revealed that outside of one reference to out-of-school education via TV as mass education, all other references were in terms of negatives: out-of-school education is not professional training, it is not life-long training, it is not scholarly type training, it is not on-the-job training.[12] While the philosophical raison d'être of out-of-school education is still not apparent, one notices that in place of the word training, which often accrued in early documents on out-of-school education needs and programs, the word information appears.

A public relations poster printed by the national news office for the out-of-school education program in 1975[13] contained several objectives of out-of-school education by television. First, all Ivorians can

---

[12] République de Côte d'Ivoire, Secrétariat d'Etat chargé de l'enseignement primaire et de la télévision éducative, Sous-direction de l'éducation extra-scolaire. Esquisse méthodologique pour la définition de politiques pédagogiques de l'éducation extra-scolaire. Abidjan, 1974.

[13] République de Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère de l'éducation nationale, Sous-direction de l'éducation extra-scolaire. La télévision éducative au service du développement. Abidjan, no date (c. 1975).

express their needs and problems. Second, they can find solutions to their problems by working with ministries and developing agencies. Third, they can improve and modernize their standard of living. Fourth, they can help stem the rural exodus. Fifth, they can place new value on manual labor. Sixth, they can learn about the political, administrative, and economic systems in Ivory Coast. Seventh, the investment in TV equipment can be rendered more profitable by adding another audience to the in-school viewing population. Eighth, the national television network can help fulfill one of the goals set at its founding: educate the population. Like other early statements on objectives, this one is lofty and all encompassing, from spectator participation to economic viability, from knowledge acquisition to attitude and behavior change. The out-of-school program, more than an end in itself, becomes a catalyst to facilitate the whole development process.

At the annual interministerial committee meeting in 1976 where out-of-school program officials and collaborating ministries and development agencies planned the subsequent year's program series and scheduling, a fifth major statement on out-of-school program objectives was read.[14] One, to inform the population about economic, political, and administrative systems in Ivory Coast. Two, to initiate techniques designed to increase agricultural production.

---

[14] République de Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère de l'enseignement primaire et de la télévision éducative, Sous-direction de l'éducation extra-scolaire. Préparation au Comité interministériel. Abidjan, 1976.

Three, to teach behaviors to improve social and sanitary conditions. Four, to ease adaptation to the modern world through problem-solving techniques. Five, to preserve certain traditional values. A particular emphasis is given to the agricultural sector, in view of increased productivity. Behavior change, in addition to purely cognitive awareness, is stated to be a desired outcome. Modernism in general is encouraged and some compatible traditional values are to be respected.

In 1977, during a periodic self-assessment of all programs (similar to the 1973 sector "updating" of the ETV project), the out-of-school department reproduced the same program objectives as in the 1976 document above, for the first time demonstrating a singular consistency over a year's period.[15] The document does, however, contain new ideas: a reorganization of the out-of-school department along target audience lines -- one adults' program, and one program for in and out-of-school youth (ages 15-18). Such new features as educational radio broadcasting, combined with improvements in poster utilization, mobile cinema vans, the animation system and within the interministerial committee plus a new definition of what makes a broadcast "educational," all signify that the out-of-school program does not appear to want to alter its basic actions, but to render them more effective, more lasting, and more widespread.

---

[15] République de Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère de l'enseignement primaire et de la télévision éducative, Sous-direction de l'éducation extra-scolaire. Actualisation du programme d'éducation télévisuelle extra-scolaire. Abidjan, 1977.

Over the period 1968-77 there have been many general statements of objectives. This analysis has not included the specific objectives, which have been developed in close association with program content; nevertheless an interesting study would see how the specific program objectives over time matched the general pronouncements about objectives. If we summarize the objectives affirmed or reaffirmed, we can attempt to classify them as offering economic, social, or political benefits.

Economic Benefits

1. Increase agricultural productivity
2. Make the investment in educational television more cost-effective (by increasing its audience)

Social Benefits

3. Inform and educate the population
4. Improve the living conditions of the population
5. Stem the rural exodus

Political Benefits

6. Encourage reflection, dialogue, participation in civic affairs
7. Encourage a certain value system (modernism, some traditional values, manual labor)

The objectives are purposely vague, so they can cover all sorts of program subjects and styles. They are congruous with the 5-year National Development Plans (see pp. 83-90 of this study). The political socialization goals (6 and 7) are very much in keeping with the one-party government system in Ivory Coast.

Viewed within the context of how the out-of-school program developed, the significant changes in objectives are basically two: one, the age of the target audience; and two, the goal of training versus information. The first out-of-school education policy favored a post-primary audience, that is of pupils who had completed six grades of primary school. However, from 1973 to 1977 this audience received no special attention within the out-of-school program. The target population was not age-related, except that, for a period, animators were discouraged from accepting primary school pupils as spectators during the evening broadcasts. In 1977, the out-of-school program officials suggested developing a youth audience (15 to 18 years), or returning to the original proposal which had not been followed in the intervening years. Undoubtedly the reason for this proposed return was the pressures exerted upon the education ministry to provide a useful training for the majority of primary school leavers who could not be admitted to secondary school. 1977 was the first year that TV pupils competed for secondary school admissions; consequently parental concern about the fate of unsuccessful pupils was particularly vociferous.

Second, the original intentions of providing practical training to enable spectators to contribute productively to rural development received fainter and fainter mention. Increasingly goals pertained to the giving of information. A term which was often used was sensitization, or translated from the French "sensibilisation," that is, making people aware of something. A program or program series

whose main goal was sensitization[16] rather than added knowledge or modified behavior was an extremely difficult type of program to evaluate, because of the inherent ambiguity concerning the intended outcome of sensitization. Sensitization was often claimed to be an initial means of awakening the peasant to something; however, follow-up or post-sensitization programs were rarely produced. It was as though a film producer could deflect any evaluation by claiming: "Well, actually this program is just to sensitize the rural population. They aren't expected to change their way of doing things."

---

[16] Frans Langlet's forthcoming doctoral thesis analyzes specific program objectives as being sensitization, knowledge acquisition, attitude change, or behavior modification and discovers an increasing preponderance of sensitization goals as the out-of-school program evolved.

Production-Transmission-Reception

The out-of-school education program has its own production staff of approximately 40 persons (see personnel breakdown in Appendix B). The film crews work mostly with 16 mm black and white or color film, but have done some experimenting with videotape. The great majority of filming is done on location, which has taken the crews to all parts of the country. Peugeot station wagons are put at the disposal of a crew composed of a film director or assistant director, a cameraman, a sound operator, and a photographer. A chauffeur is made available. The out-of-school program possesses light filmmaking equipment, donated by UNESCO and the French government. For certain operations, such as film development, film editing, and sound mixing, as well as any studio filmmaking, facilities must be borrowed. Arrangements are made with the Ministry of Information to use their material or their services and occasionally the Bouaké RTV Complex accommodates a film crew. For the more specialized work of color film development and for higher quality sound mixing, laboratories in France are used.

The out-of-school education programs are transmitted over microwave from Abidjan and reach all areas covered by the national TV network (about four-fifths of the country) over the one general channel which is operating. Any of the estimated 200,000 privately owned TV receivers in the Ivory Coast[17] can receive the programs. The target

---

[17] République de Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère du Plan. La Côte d'Ivoire en chiffres, Edition 1977-78. Abidjan, 1977.

audience of the out-of-school program, however, is an "organized" listening audience which has gone to one of the 1800 primary schools (in 1977) which houses a TV receiver used during the day for children's educational broadcasts in the formal school system.

The majority of TV schools are in villages, where there is not yet electricity; consequently, most TV receivers are battery-operated. The viewing population comprises people of all ages, including many who are both illiterate and unacquainted with the visual symbols which pass over the TV screen. A key to the success of the out-of-school operation has always been considered the ability to motivate the viewing population, to help them understand the TV message, and to stimulate them to apply the advice contained in "Télé Pour Tous" which is designed to improve their standard of living. To complement the TV messages, a dependable personal resource was sought. The Ministry of Primary Education controls a substantial pool of field agents -- the 17,000 primary school teachers throughout the country -- who were tapped to act as facilitators, change agents, or as the French say, "animateurs" with the villagers. This animation task was added to their principal responsibility of teaching youngsters in the formal school system.

Since 1973, primary school teachers have been asked to voluntarily "animate" out-of-school programs, which entails typically the following activities:

(1) Receive and read printed documents (guidelines, posters) explaining objectives of each TV program and suggestions for leading a discussion following the program and in general how to relate to villagers.

(2) Attend periodic workshops organized by the out-of-school program on animation methodology.

(3) Notify villagers through pupils, the town crier, the chief's notables or other ways concerning subjects of upcoming TV programs.

(4) One or two evenings a week, open the classroom and turn on the TV receiver, and summon villagers by ringing the school gong.

(5) Throughout or just after the half-hour program, translate the TV commentary or have it translated into the local language(s) by someone.

(6) Lead a discussion following the program to test comprehension, answer any questions, develop the subject further, repeat the main points, etc.

(7) Be available generally to help villagers in action related to out-of-school programs, i.e., purchase water filters, contact development agencies.

## Content and Type of TV Programs Produced

The content of TV programs produced is dictated by the agency "co-producing" the program with the out-of-school department. For instance, the National Institute for Public Health will approach the out-of-school department with ideas for a series of programs on infant nutrition. The Research and Development Bureau for Coffee and Cocoa Industries will contact the out-of-school department saying they have a message to get across to rural people, a new national policy and pricing system for the treatment and marketing of coffee beans. The National Office for Rural Promotion will say it intends to finance a series of seven programs on the importance of water in rural areas and how water can be made more accessible or cleaner through well digging or the utilization of water filters. The initiation of a program production emanates from within the department which is subject matter specialist.[18]

The form in which the program is presented is principally the prerogative of the out-of-school unit's film director. The subject matter specialists may come with their ideas. For example, health educators may have envisaged their TV program with a nurse in an office explaining how to wean a baby and how to make the first solid baby food. The film director may argue for filming on location that will show an

---

[18] See next section on collaboration. See Appendix C for a list of general subjects on which individual or series of TV programs have been broadcast. See Appendix D for an illustrative list of several co-producers and specific topics covered in broadcasts they sponsored.

Ivorian mother with her baby in a village setting. The coffee agency may suggest several individual interviews with town officials concerning a new coffee policy; discussions with the film director may lead to the decision to film a round table discussion involving a few officials. The film directors are generally accorded considerable freedom to determine the program style they think most suitable to the subject matter: a didactic lesson filmed in an office room; an interview on a plantation recorded in a local language with a parallel commentary in French; a humorous village scene with African or Western music accompaniment. Meetings with the representative from the collaborating agency plus a viewing for the out-of-school director's final approval re-orient any of the film director's initiatives which might be inappropriate.

Collaboration with Agencies

As long as educational television broadcasted exclusively to captive pupils in their classrooms or to their teachers, responsibility remained whole and unchallenged within the educational sector. Since the beginning of filming for in-school programs in 1971, there was a certain collaboration in that film directors visited factories, plantations, ports, markets, administrative offices, etc. in an effort to bring to Ivorian children as complete a picture as possible of the varieties in national "milieu" and daily reality.

When the decision was made to reach a new audience, other than teachers or pupils, the questions of mandate, of responsibility, of cooperation, of collaboration were inevitably raised. If subjects other than strictly academic ones were raised, not only would other Ministries or agencies have claims to dispensing information on their special domain, but they could substantially increase the value and usefulness of programs. They could even put their field agents to the task of following up TV programs.

The first collaborations were with the Ministries of Health and Agriculture and a private Catholic rural animation movement.[19] These organizations were contacted on an individual basis and agreed to provide manpower to help in the development of scripts. They did not provide any financial contribution.

---

[19]The "Fédération des groupements villageois" of Bouaké.

As the out-of-school program developed, three major changes to this initial situation emerged. First, the planning and programming of out-of-school programs were assigned to an officially constituted interministerial committee. This body functions in the following way: the out-of-school department writes the dozens of Ministries and development agencies annually, inviting them to a planning meeting where concepts of collaboration are discussed and where individual ministries or agencies send representatives with a list of the number of TV programs on some specific subject that they would like to sponsor. This annual meeting brings together some fifty participants and gives the out-of-school department the raw material with which to begin scheduling production crews and broadcast target dates for the following year.

Second, although the education sector remained the prime mover in the production of program series and retained the technical control, two government agencies acquired a special relationship among other collaborators. The Television Office of the Ministry of Information possessed studio and laboratory facilities and technicians upon which the out-of-school department was dependent; in addition, the office determined the scheduling of out-of-school broadcasts. And a new agency, the National Office for Rural Promotion (ONPR), a branch of the Planning Ministry,[20] officially received from the President's

---

[20]As of July 1977 a cabinet reshuffle no longer attributed to Planning a whole Ministry, but grouped it with economics and finance. The ONPR has been changed to the Agriculture Ministry; the effect of this change upon the operations of the ONPR is not yet known, but may well be insignificant.

Office consecration as the number-one planner and coordinator of activities designed for the rural population.

## Financing

Financing the out-of-school program has evolved through many different formulae. The out-of-school program structure was added as an afterthought to the part of the ETV Complex in Bouaké with which it had the most affiliation: the in-service teacher training department. Organizationally and fiscally these two were one, even sharing a common director (the present out-of-school education director). Financing for programs produced in Bouaké was at the outset completely from the ETV Complex State-given funds and two technical assistants' positions paid by the French government. When an Abidjan-based out-of-school unit emerged, to be closer to collaborating agencies in the capital, this unit was funded out of the Minister's services, that is also on official State funds, and with one technical assistantship financed by UNESCO. As was mentioned before, the first co-production did not entail any outside financing.

The out-of-school program at its outset had to struggle to free technicians from in-school program production and to borrow cameras, vehicles, editing tables, and the like. Difficult as it was, the manpower, equipment, and material needs could more or less be met by a close personal relationship within the Complex. The major hardship was securing funding for traveling to location sites, for paying actors, for living expenses during shooting periods. For this main reason, the out-of-school program director began asking his

collaborating Ministries or agencies to contribute to the costs.[21] There was no uniform contractual division of expenses. Organizations paid with what was available currency to them: sometimes a check was made out to the out-of-school department; sometimes vehicles were lent; sometimes fuel was paid; sometimes housing for production crews and actors was offered. On occasion, payment was promised and never made.

It is not easy to calculate an average cost for the production of an out-of-school film. The variable factors include: black and white or color film; film or videotape; the length of the broadcast; the use (or not) of professional actors; the length of the mobilization of actors and production crews; the extra professional film finishing in a Parisian laboratory (or not). In 1976 the out-of-school department estimated the cost of a 30-minute film production as ranging from $2400 to $4600,[22] yet this is not a total cost, as is explained in the Appendix (and Klees, 1977).

---

[21]Interview with project official, 8 June 1976.

[22]See Appendix E for cost estimates of producing out-of-school films.

# CHAPTER 3

## THE CONTEXT AND CONSEQUENCES OF SEVERAL MAJOR DECISIONS

Several key features of the Ivory Coast out-of-school television system are striking to even the cursory visitor:

(1) The program is managed by the Ministry of Primary Education and Educational Television

(2) The Ministry collaborates with other Ministries and development agencies.

(3) The program uses television as its principal communication technology.

(4) The program broadcasts in the French language.

(5) The program uses voluntary primary school teachers as animators.

(6) The program depends on foreign assistance.

There are other characteristics of the out-of-school program, which considers itself in essence a production and an animation service, but these are certainly important ones. All of these features are extremely important in determining how the program functions, what it can and cannot accomplish. They contain the seeds of its promise and its problems.

## The program is managed by the Ministry of Primary Education and Educational Television

This section contains two parts relating to education. The first treats the question: how did the out-of-school program come to be housed in the Education sector? It is logical for an historical analysis to start with this point, for it helps to explain much of the direction and evolution the program consequently takes. The second part concerns the public education structure where a Ministry is involved and where certain bureaucratic constraints are evident.

### Why Education?

First we must look at the previous attempts at rural or adult education before educational television was available in rural areas. Efforts can be traced through official policies, division of responsibilities among Ministries, and private, mainly parochial rural development movements. In Ivory Coast there is no Ministry of Rural Development as exists in such countries as Mali, Senegal, Mauritania. Neither is there a rural education system such as in Upper Volta. Despite these institutional lacks, rural development efforts have been organized. In the 1940s and 1950s primary school teachers often taught literacy classes on the demand of villagers desirous of improving their lot. Such teaching was performed on a paid basis, and was managed by the mass education section of the Ministry of Education. At Independence in 1960, a new Ministry of Youth, Sports and Mass Education was created, and school teachers suddenly saw their lucrative

adult classes given over to a small group of "moniteurs" working for the newly created Ministry. The monitors currently number about 500 and are scattered over the country, involved principally in teaching French literacy classes.

In the 1960s the Ministry of Information was given mobile vans to tour the country showing 16 mm films in villages. Some in French, some in local languages, these films were presented in an evening, followed by discussion, and the driver-operator moved on to the next village. In 1967, the radio created a program for farmers, "La Coupe Nationale du Progrès." This daily program in French gave the farmers tips on modern agricultural techniques as well as stimulated competition among farmers and regions from whom the most productive received national recognition. News and variety programs were broadcast over radio into several local languages.

What became known as State Development Agencies ("Sociétés d'Etat") grew during the 1960s, each one concerned with Ivory Coast's major export products: coffee and cocoa, cotton, rice, palm oil, cane sugar. A new hydroelectric dam and the relocation of several thousand villagers prompted the founding of a new agency, the Bandama Valley Authority, which joined other development agencies in adding training and adult education to their responsibilities.

In the private sphere, Catholic organizations such as the African Institute for Economic and Social Development (INADES), and the Village

Federations in Bouaké were also pioneers in the field of "animation rurale," the idea of facilitating self-learning so that villagers could take into their hands the reins of their own development.

In conclusion then, the adult education efforts prior to 1970 had involved three Ministries and several semi-private and private organisations. They represented several different methods of operation with different objectives. The government did not appear to stress rural development; indeed the centralism exhibited by the capital Abidjan and the infrequent examples of development infrastructure inland were reminiscent of the French metropolitan situation, where provincial regions paled in insignificance in contrast to the Parisian hub.

At the 5th Party Congress in 1970, the Education Minister announced the introduction of educational television. He also referred in his report to the necessity of organising post-primary education which should be the "reflection of interministerial cooperation;" the Minister did not hesitate to add that such cooperation must be coordinated and that a coordinating body should be named.[23]

The absence of any official coordinating body for post-primary or adult education did not prevent planning within the education sector to include those audiences. In 1968 and 1971 UNESCO consultants,

---

[23] République de Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère de l'Information. Cinquième Congrès du Parti Démocratique de Côte d'Ivoire, octobre 1970. Abidjan, 1971.

working with French and Ivorian educational planners, produced plans for reaching the post-primary and adult audience via television.[24, 25] A new-style educator would give instructions to rural youth and facilitate learning by rural adults through a "self-education" program. The innovation of television was serving as catalyst for revising the total educational strategy from teacher training to curriculum development to widening the reach of educational programs.

Another reason was evoked in 1972 for using television to reach audiences other than pupils and teachers: to improve the unit cost. At the semi-annual meeting of the "Club d'Abidjan" on the financing of the educational television program, concern was expressed about the high costs of the Ivory Coast project. (1972 was also the year that the Evaluation Service was created, including in its agenda achievement tests for TV pupils and cost projections.) Ivory Coast ETV authorities were looking for ways to improve the image of their project which was already costing significantly more than had been

---

[24] République de Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère de l'éducation nationale. Principes et modalités d'application des nouvelles techniques et méthodes pour l'enseignement du premier degré, l'éducation post-primaire et la formation des maîtres, Volume 1. Paris: no date (c. 1968).

[25] République de Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère de l'éducation nationale. Principes et modalités d'application des nouvelles techniques et méthodes pour l'éducation extra-scolaire des jeunes, l'éducation des adultes et la formation des éducateurs, Volume 4, no place, no date (c. 1971). This draft volume never appeared in the continuing series of official ETV documents. The Vol. 4 which did appear was a bibliography of child psychology in Anglophone Africa.

anticipated.[26] Increasing the audience size by opening up television broadcasts to the out-of-school population and using the television additional hours of the broadcasting day could increase the utilization of the TV receivers placed in villages and decrease the unit costs.

In the next year, 1973, two significant events occurred in the evolution of out-of-school education in Ivory Coast. In May, the first television program for out-of-school audiences was produced by the Ministry of Education. In December, the President of Ivory Coast announced the creation of the National Office for Rural Promotion (ONPR) within the Planning Ministry.[27] This new office was to be interministerial in that it would coordinate all of individual efforts at rural development.

In January 1974, a Planning Ministry official gave his clear point of view concerning content and means of out-of-school education. "Evidently it would be illusory and contrary to the most elementary pedagogical principles to adopt a reverse strategy and systematically develop out-of-school education using one privileged technology for the sole reason that it was available..."[28] The inference was also

---

[26] Klees, Steven J. and Jamison, Dean T. A Cost Analysis of Instructional Television in the Ivory Coast. Abidjan: Evaluation Service, 1976 (2nd edition).

[27] The section on collaboration with other Ministries contains further analysis of the relationship education/ONPR.

[28] République de Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère de l'éducation nationale, "Colloque sur les technologies de l'éducation extra-scolaire du 7 au 12 janvier 1974," Rapport final, Appendix 3, p. 4.

clear. Logically one should conceive of a rural development plan and then experiment with means of carrying out the objectives of that plan. However, the theoretical plan is usually far removed from the realities of daily life.

One reality in Ivory Coast in 1973 was that adult education existed, but was fragmented and uncoordinated, and did not utilize media in a major way. A second reality was that the Ministry of Information, which had the sole control over what was ultimately broadcast over radio and TV, and which had a mandate for rural education as well as urban entertainment and information, had devoted itself entirely to the latter. A third reality was that the Education Ministry was stretching its mind in the direction of educational reform and expansion; it was anxious to show that the heavy investment for TV infrastructure was cost-effective, and it possessed two trumps that gave it a seat of power: a film production crew and prime air time in which to broadcast its films over the national network. Granted the filmmaking capacity was not of sophisticated quality; it involved technicians used to school productions, former teachers accustomed to no production at all, borrowed cameras, vehicles, development facilities. And the programs to out-of-school audiences were admittedly experimental, with no promise for continued or increased air time. Nevertheless, the die was cast. The Education sector by default on the one hand and by drive on the other became the initiators, major contributors and nominal czars of broadcasting to rural areas.

Ministerial Affiliation

Rather than being generally relegated to the education sector for leadership, the out-of-school program is encased in one of the four Ministries that handle educational matters in the Ivory Coast.[29] It is the primary education system's infrastructure and manpower deployment that are "extended" to embrace the out-of-school audience: 8,000 TV receivers in classrooms and 17,000 primary school teachers all over the country (as of 1977) who can serve as animators.

One major consequence of the ministerial affiliation concerns personnel and personnel recruitment policy. The Ivory Coast civil service maintains extremely strict regulations on appointments within a Ministry. The Ministry of Primary Education is made up of primary school teachers and that is all. This means that not only the out-of-school program is run by an "in-school teacher-turned-principal-turned-inspector," but every subordinate role is likewise filled by an in-school educator. A cameraman, a sound operator, a film editor, an accountant, a researcher, are all former school teachers who have requested appointments in the out-of-school department. Some may have been assigned to the out-of-school department because their past promising record indicated they might be successfully re-oriented to the new department. Many, however, ended up in the department for less glorious reasons. Some were considered troublemakers as teachers or principals and were

---

[29] There is a Ministry of Technical Education and Professional Training; a Ministry of Youth, Sports, and Mass Education; a Ministry of National Education (covering secondary, higher education), plus a Ministry of Primary Education and Educational Television.

shuttled to a "central administration" position to relieve them of classroom responsibility. Some protégés used the political weight of their lofty benefactors to impose themselves on the department through continued harassment until their appointment was accepted.

Such assessments imply several things. First, the "raw materials" in human forces the department has to work with are derived from a narrow sample: in-school teachers who for one reason or another want out. Secondly, the conversion of these raw materials to competent members of a planning, production, animation, and evaluation team is a nearly impossible task. The out-of-school department ran seminars in 1974 and 1975 for animators (1100 trained to date). The University Audio-Visual Center and the Ministry of Information offer possibilities for young out-of-school converts to have on-hands training. A third implication is that complementary assistance must be sought from outside to modify the strong pedagogical imprint into one of a technical and productive nature. This outside help takes the form of expatriate technicians who are hired to work full time on the out-of-school education staff in a planning, production, and evaluation capacity, but also as trainers. And furthermore, scholarships are provided for teachers to learn a new professional specialization in centers abroad.[30]

A second major consequence of the affiliation to a Ministry besides personnel policy is the budgetary and accounting systems used in the Ministry. The out-of-school budget is proposed by the department,

---

[30] See section on reliance upon foreign assistance.

and determined by the Bureau of the Budget in competition with other Ministries. The budget allocated is not an autonomous one, managed by the out-of-school department. The Bureau of the Budget maintains the funds, but permits the department to make purchases in certain prescribed categories. For instance, the 1977 budget of fifty million francs covers the following areas: support staff salaries, vehicle repair, fuel, building repair, office equipment, and technical equipment. The last item, the largest one, is meant to cover film, cameras, and other technical commodities. For each purchase, the out-of-school department must prepare a pro-forma order with a recognized distributor, and wait for the central government's promise of payment. Often, months elapse before the article is delivered.

The direct unavailability of cash plus the lengthy delays in ordering equipment are only two of the irrationalities of the system. A third is the nature of the line items on the budget. The six items in the preceding paragraph were accepted by the Bureau of the Budget, although at reduced levels than the ones requested. A seventh item was refused altogether; it was called "frais d'exploitation" and was meant to cover the innumerable out-of-pocket expenses related to film production which cannot be processed through the bureaucratic payment system.[31] The department can purchase all the electric typewriters and office curtains, paper and film it needs, but is powerless to cover a long list of basic production costs which occur mainly on location. The

---

[31] Hiring bit actors, lodging and food in upcountry villages, vehicle repairs at illiterate mechanics', rental or use of props, gratuities for hospitable village gestures, etc.

department's budget request is discussed and decided upon by accountants dealing normally with in-school programs, for whom filming on location, if understood, represents an unnecessary extravagance. It is the unavailability and insufficiency of funds which oblige the out-of-school department to seek co-producing partners above and beyond the department's own desire to do so.

## The Ministry Collaborates with Other Ministries and Development Agencies

One reason why the out-of-school education department contacted the Health and Agriculture Ministries in late 1972 concerning jointly sponsored programs was that the educational television leaders conceived of the television as a means of reaching potentially all Ivorian audiences in the interest of national development in its broadest sense. Preparing programs on subjects other than purely educational ones and assuring support from extension agents could be best done with direct input from the specialized development agencies. A second stimulation to approaching agencies and organizations was the financial constraints placed upon the out-of-school department as a production unit. The creation of the ONFR in 1974, prompted by the desire to assure a coordination and a cooperation in activities directed toward the rural populations, further encouraged the use of the media to reach peasants and increase collaboration among development agencies.

The theoretical advantages of collaboration in the preparation of TV documentaries are clearly admitted: content originating from specialists; possibility of personal follow-up by field agents; increased visibility of development models through the media; financial contributions from collaborators allowing the educational television effort to be more effective; establishing work teams between producers and educationists on one side, and development specialists on the other, could be personally beneficial to each participant's training; perhaps

offer a model of inter-agency cooperation on a high government level. Yet at the same time these positive results were being sought, several negative aspects or problem areas arose and demanded solution.

First, the out-of-school department, created in Bouaké, the second city in Ivory Coast 200 miles north of the capital, found it well nigh impossible to collaborate with agencies so far away. With uncertain telephone communications systems and a hazardous half-day long car ride between the two points, any attempts toward teamwork were fraught with frustrations and dissatisfactions. A proposal was accepted to name a chief technical assistant and small staff to Abidjan while retaining the director and the main staff in Bouaké. After a few months the frustration over this dichotomy reached an even higher peak and the whole operation was moved to the capital.

The consequences of the move were multiple. The prime goals of coordination within out-of-school staff and ease in working with other agencies were met. Abidjan also represented a more attractive place for working and living than did Bouaké in the eyes of most persons who might be tempted to such work in the out-of-school department; consequently, the number of candidates for department positions swelled. But, on the negative side, the relinquishing of the ETV Complex facilities meant that the department had to beg for use of equipment and services in Abidjan, out of its Ministry. Informal agreements were reached with the Ministry of Information to put an editing table, some technicians, and developing and sound mixing facilities at the

disposal of the out-of-school department. Nevertheless these facilities were sometimes crowded, and the technical work performed was not up to the quality the department expected. There was a feeling of rivalry and ill-will between the two Ministries which was made apparent in the frequent expression of exasperation or criticism emanating from co-workers. Autonomy would have been created had the production crews continued to do their work in Bouaké or had the department been able to acquire its own equipment. On the one hand, the unity of the operation was not sacrificed when the entire department was moved to the capital. On the other hand, requests for its own development, editing and mixing equipment were refused by the outside financers of the out-of-school program, UNESCO and the French government technical assistance Ministry.

The special relationship with the Ministry of Information did not involve only the preparation of the film for broadcasting. The allocation of air time and respect of air time allotments formed another area which was also marked with periods of contention. Originally the Ministry of Information accorded a half-hour in out-of-school program broadcasts, from 7:15 to 7:45 p.m. during the week. Feedback from the first broadcasts revealed that this time coincided with the evening Moslem prayers and several listening centers requested that the program be carried slightly later. Wednesday evenings at 8:15, directly following the news, were then assigned. However, the evening news lasted varying amounts of time and was directly followed on occasion by a special news edition covering a significant item of

current interest. Consequently, out-of-school programs frequently began later than the appointed time. For instance in 1974-75 one half of the programs commenced after a delay of up to one hour.[32] During the 1976-77 year an out-of-school program was occasionally cancelled altogether because of a satellite link-up to the broadcasting of a European soccer match or on account of the sudden substitution of an urgent special event. The harm done by such delays or substitutions stems from the absence of notification, even in the daily press, and to the dissatisfaction of assembled villagers who, sometimes having walked more than a mile, faced a TV screen which did not bring them "their program" at the announced time.

Notes of discord were also struck when the out-of-school department began preparing two programs a week, and then longer, sometimes hourly programs for broadcasting. A case in point is the 1977 serial "Sikatio," a five-part series on juvenile delinquency from the temptations of city living. Never had an out-of-school TV project in Ivory Coast been prepared more meticulously. While the five fifty-minute color programs were broadcast in weekly intervals, daily photo-novella strips were printed in the national daily which gave much publicity to the series. The out-of-school department wanted to have live discussions on the items brought up in the film immediately following each broadcast. However, the radio and television department of the Ministry of Information allowed only one discussion at the end of the

---

[32] Lenglet, Frans. A Report on Out-of-School Television in the Ivory Coast before and during its First Operational Year. Abidjan, Evaluation Service, 1975, p. 29.

series to take place. It involved over a dozen specialists and in the time allocated could only but scratch the surface of the critical themes raised in the series. In addition to the disappointment caused within the out-of-school department concerning the meagre discussion time, two of the programs were broadcast with over an hour's delay.

A second special relationship was called for with the National Office for Rural Promotion. The theoretical distinction between ONPR as a coordinating and training super-agency and the out-of-school department as a production and animation service did not hold up in practice. The out-of-school department had to program the work of its production crew, when they would work where, for whom. On several occasions, programs were sponsored by more than one agency, so a rather complicated scheduling was introduced, to permit annual planning, and groupings of similar themes to be treated by film crews simultaneously. When different agencies offered to collaborate with the out-of-school department in making films, the department adjudicated how many of these offers its production crew could satisfy, what themes might be grouped together, and what broadcasting schedule could be arranged.

The ONPR began as just another collaborating agency, offering, for instance, to co-sponsor a series of seven programs on water. Financially, collaboration with this agency functioned without difficulty in that as an autonomous "office" it could simply write out a check for the out-of-school department's payment and not be forced to follow

the long bureaucratic formalities of normal government payment. An incident concerning the credits of a commonly produced film, where less mention was made of "ONPR" than of the "out-of-school department," created an unfortunate rift. A general feeling of distrust and jealousy grew and, added to this incident, caused a refusal of ONPR to be associated any longer with the out-of-school TV program. ONPR created its own media department, and started making weekly TV programs.

In 1977 the out-of-school department expressed chagrin over the situation, over the duplicating of effort and the veering of the ONPR away from a coordinating and toward a production body. It reminded concerned parties of a presidential decree[33] charging the Ministry of Primary Education and Educational Television with the production and broadcasting through mass media of educational messages destined to school and adult populations and particularly with the coordination of national educational television. Consequently, we can see the two organizations each with a mandate for coordination, one through a medium -- TV -- the other through a target audience -- rural populations -- where both are trying to act autonomously in the midst of ambiguity.

---

[33] République de Côte d'Ivoire, Présidence de la République. Decree 77-147, 9 March 1977.

The Use of Television as Principal Communications Technology

The use of television as principal communications technology in the out-of-school TV project is one of the latter's major inherited characteristics. Television was inherited because the in-school program had adopted that medium as its key innovative feature. Television was selected for these programs not because it was proven the most effective medium from an experimental test, or from a comparative study which might have explored radio as the potential major technology. There had been no experimenting, only some positive signs from the small Niger ETV project and a great deal of hope, expressed by international educators, in the "new media."[34]

The decision to equip classrooms with television receivers and to launch nationwide support for educational television seems to have spurred the spread of TV acquisition. An estimated 20,000 receivers were in use prior to the educational usage of TV, that is in 19[illegible], the sets belonging mainly to the urban and the well-off. In 1977, over 1800 schools housed TV receivers and the total number of receivers owned throughout the country had risen to an estimated 200,000. Many of these were Japanese portable televisions available on the market for approximately $200.

---

[34] Schramm, W.; Coombs, P. H.; Kahnert, F.; Lyle, J. The new media: Memo to Educational Planners. Paris: UNESCO/IIEP, 1967, and its three volumes of accompanying case studies, "New Educational Media in Action" including a TV-based literacy course for urban factory workers in Ivory Coast, speak with promise of the possible breakthrough in financing and promoting learning by relying in part upon modern electronic media.

The question of whether the out-of-school education program benefits from a mass medium is vital. The program aims at the rurally based, predominantly illiterate peasant, with urban and educated audiences a secondary target. Much emphasis is placed on the teacher/animator's role precisely because his intervention is considered crucial to bring about comprehension, consciousness, and action from the rural and disadvantaged populations. The Evaluation Service in 1977 estimated that only 3-5 percent of the adults with access to TV schools actually attended the "Télé Pour Tous" programs.[35] In absolute numbers, an average of 15,000 spectators an evening throughout the country attended "Télé Pour Tous" programs in animated schools during 1975-76 [36] (considerably less the following year). And because the school TV receivers are installed in only a minor percentage of the 8000 villages, only less than one percent of the total adult population is exposed to the out-of-school program. Consequently, it is very difficult at the present time to consider TV a mass medium effective in reaching the program's target population.

Furthermore, one must consider the nature of the TV medium, the frequency of its usage, and the role of its facilitators, the teachers. Exposure to out-of-school programs is limited from one half to one hour per week throughout the year. (Only the opening of a second

---

[35] Longlet, Frans and McAnany, Emile G. Rural Adult Education and the Role of Mass Media: A Comparative Analysis of Four Projects. Stanford University: Institute for Communication Research, 1977, pp. 46-47.

[36] Fritz, Rüdiger. Le Public Atteint par Télé Pour Tous. Abidjan: Evaluation Service, 1976.

channel would allow this limited time to radically increase.) Normally, about forty half-hour programs are produced annually, with the supplementary air time devoted to rebroadcasts. Spectators are notified about evening programs and are invited to go to the classroom if a teacher is disposed to opening and unlocking the TV set. They sit and watch the French language program, and participate in a discussion if one is held and if the spectators are so inclined. Two major problems noted to date have been the difficulty which rural spectators manifest in understanding TV program content broadcast in a foreign language[37] and the lack of conviction and expertise, with which the primary school teachers are armed in their dealings with the adult TV spectators.[38] The teachers are, at best, facilitators of learning not specialists in TV program content. Besides the TV, the teacher-animator, an occasional poster, and responses to mailed-in questions, the out-of-school department is not in contact with its target audience. Alternative communications strategies, such as face-to-face extension support, are left to other institutions.

---

[37] Jouët, Josiane. Rapport sur la compréhension de l'émission et de l'affiche sur le ver de Guinée. Abidjan, Sous-direction de l'Education Extra-Scolaire, 1976, p. 94.

[38] Benveniste, A. The Reception and Animation of Out-of-School Educational Television Programs in the Ivory Coast: A case study of four villages. Abidjan: Evaluation Services, 1976.

## The Program Broadcasts in the French Language

Broadcasting to illiterate peasants in French rather than in a local language is as accepted within the Ivory Coast educational television program as it is considered inacceptable by critics. The reasons for broadcasting through the French language are numerous. French, the official language in the country, is often cited as a unifying element in a social structure which is composed of over forty individual local languages. Since there is no one local lingua franca, and broadcasting in all languages was considered impossible, the broadcasting media have feared inciting ethnic jealousies by favoring some languages over others. Yet the national radio broadcasts in approximately a dozen languages. And in 1975 the national television began presenting national news summaries in several languages (20 minutes six times a week). Outside of this latter example, however, there is no local language broadcasting on television. Finally, educational television leaders probably considered it difficult enough to introduce the idea of rural television without attempting simultaneously to add the radical component of local language broadcasting.

Before presenting some consequences of the above language policy, two language-related clarifications should be made. First, although all added commentary and some dialogue in out-of-school program are in French, some dialogue and some farmer interviews are broadcast in the original local language. For instance, one might hear two herders in their own language discuss common problems concerning an endemic cattle

disease. This introduction would fade away, and a voice over in French explaining vaccinations would replace the direct dialogue. The viewing audience is particularly sensitive to the ethnic group which appears on the screen. During the first two years of out-of-school programs, a substantial number of programs were filmed in the central part of the country, not far from the RTV Complex in Bouaké. This region is predominantly Baoulé in its ethnic and linguistic composition. Comments written in feedback forms from rural listening centers and suggestions made orally to visiting evaluation teams in villages concurred in a criticism of the undue importance accorded the Baoulé tribe in its frequent depiction on the screen. The second point related to language policy is that local sensitiveness to ethnic justice is highly developed. In conclusion, it should be stated that the last two broadcasting years have presented much less of a monopolistic treatment of one region and the criticism has disappeared.

The evident results of broadcasting in French to a target population of illiterate rural workers is incomprehension. The secondary audience of urban viewers and the educated living in rural areas can understand and it is through their participation that the key audience has the chance of benefiting from the TV programs.

Several evaluation studies (Fritz, 1976; Grant and Soya, 1976; Jouët, 1975) have pointed to the difficulty in understanding the TV message, preceding any application of its advice by rural dwellers. Spectators

admit their current dependence upon their more educated brethren for interpreters or translators, but look forward to the day when the communication will no longer rely so heavily upon an intermediary. More specifically, rural Ivorians have expressed a great desire to be made literate. A series of World Bank studies on regional educational needs in Ivory Coast concludes that although literacy in the French language is desired, because that is the way to a higher paying job, the expression of desire for local language literacy is even stronger.[39]

In sum, one can characterize the Ivory Coast's French language broadcasting policy as being historically consistent with others of its socialization influences; that is, the nation has been using the linguistic tie to its colonizer as a means of furthering the political goal of language standardization. Where program comprehension is a problem, it is hoped face-to-face animation in listening centers will provide the necessary impetus to understanding and adoption of new behavior. Obviously the good will and competence of animators and other helping spectators, such as "native sons" who are employed in the cities and return to their village occasionally, are crucial factors in enhancing the chances of program impact. Technical breakthroughs regarding multiple-language broadcasting may be around the corner (in 1976 India's Satellite Instructional Television Experiment broadcast via satellite to over two thousand villages in five languages,

---

[39] République de Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère du Plan. Etude régionale d'éducation, Partie II, Rapports de Zones (provisoires). Abidjan, 8 volumes, 1976.

yet not more than two simultaneously), but for the moment Ivory Coast is maintaining its conservative position in the absence of social pressure for local language literacy and instruction as well as demands for increased air time for local languages.

The Program Uses Voluntary Primary School Teachers as Animators

The three issues in this section are: 1) the school as locus for adult television programs; 2) the schoolteacher as animator for the TV sessions; and 3) the voluntary nature of the animation system.

As an extension of the in-school television program, it was natural that so-called "out-of-school" TV for rural adults utilize the same setting, the classroom. For the first time, adults were invited to enter the classrooms, fold themselves in-between the small pupil benches and desks, and watch with attention as a young teacher taught them his course with televised accompaniment. In addition to the apparent physical discomfort involved, there is a psychological barrier present by shepherding adults into a child's world so radically different from the parents' habitual life style. Research carried out on this psychological factor (Benveniste, 1976) has noted the authoritarian and condescending manner in which teachers often behave when addressing adults in their classrooms. Not having been trained in adult education strategies for the most part, many teachers treat the adults seated before them as though they were youngsters. A further handicap is the physical distance which usually separates the schoolhouse from village dwellings. Schools and teachers' quarters are regularly constructed on the periphery of a village, an area not normally visited by villagers. Consequently, because of distance and unfamiliarity, it does not constitute a place for villagers to feel at ease. It should be said that the alternative of the "community

center" which would belong totally, say, to the out-school community and be located in the center of the village was never explored because of the in-school origin of educational television as mentioned earlier. When in the early history of the project, receivers were moved outside the classroom by popular request to accommodate large crowds, avoiding the child's closed quarters altogether, the television maintenance company discouraged such initiatives as adding an undue risk and expense to the TV receiver. In final analysis, adults appear "put off" by the necessity of attending school to see their programs. When it happens that a well-to-do villager has the means of purchasing his own set he will stay at home and no longer attend the [illegible] sessions. The predominant audience at the evening school activity often ends up being young, school-age children.

Given the housing of the project administration within the Primary Education Ministry and the installation of the TV receivers in primary school classrooms, the selection of the primary school teacher as administrator or facilitator was a natural choice. Yet this choice was highly significant: many people considered that if the primary teacher/animator role failed, then the success of the out-of-school program was critically compromised.

The primary school teacher is assigned certain tasks and establishes a fixed routine based on these tasks as well as adopting certain attitudes about his role. One can say that until 1970 the rural primary schoolteacher's life was stable; it was also relatively

lucrative and undemanding. The teacher gave his own classes during the day, enjoyed autonomy in his occupation, and could count on a salary raise every two years. Starting in the early 1970s, the first two characteristics of rural teaching life were altered. A television set introduced into his classroom suddenly required his constant presence, surveillance, and attention. The new obligation to teach with television was accompanied by the difficulty in coping with the new curricula (especially modern mathematics) conveyed through the new medium. Piles of teacher guides in several subjects were added to his classroom preparation chore, and, despite their assistance in answering pedagogical questions or problems which might arise, constituted a drain on his after-school leisure time. Besides such basic modifications of his everyday professional life, it must also be remembered that teachers were distrustful of the TV program at the outset, uncertain about its worth as well as intimidated by its growing presence.

Basically, teacher attitudes in the early 1970s were in a state of flux as a result of the heavy implications of educational innovation upon teachers' lives. A second characteristic in teacher attitudes was the consideration of teaching children as a teacher's exclusive professional responsibility. That is, the only audience which the teacher had a mandate to reach for instructional purposes consisted of primary schoolchildren. In 1973 when primary school teachers were asked to become involved in educational television during the evening destined for adult audiences, the teachers' competence and willingness

were, of course, strong variables; and so was the reigning atmosphere around teacher-adult village relations.

Reports by Benveniste (1976), Grant (1974), and Grant and Seya (1976) have analyzed and documented multiple facets underlying the basic incompatibility between civil servant teachers assigned to a village and its inhabitants. First, the teacher does not always speaks the language of the area he is assigned to, due to a teacher recruitment policy which tries to avoid creating opportunities for speaking local languages in schools. Second, there is a high rate of mobility within the civil service from village to village; many teachers do not reside long enough in a locality to become effective change agents in the community. Third, teachers are generally young enough not to be considered respected sources of advice and wisdom by the community. In a traditional society, where age classes are important and where all major decisions are taken by the village chief, as counseled by elder men, it is unrealistic to believe a young adult will have a position of authority. Fourth, teacher training schools do not put any emphasis in their curricula or in their internships toward village-directed activities, such as agriculture, child care, and environmental hygiene. The physical distance separating teachers from villagers has been mentioned; there is also a huge generation gap separating the generally youthful, city or town educated teacher with his illiterate and rural village population. Teachers tend to frequent their peers, other teachers, or locally assigned development agents or storekeepers. There is often condescension in the voice of teachers when they

enumerate the difficulties they have getting along with villagers. Contacts are perfunctory; villagers rarely call on teachers or involve them in matters unless they pertain to village children's education. Most teachers, in conclusion, are reluctant to become involved in "village affairs" during their term of occupancy in a teaching position there.

In 1973, the out-of-school program offered an opportunity to teachers to become legitimately involved in village affairs by becoming animators of TV programs and as instigators of village improvement schemes emanating therefrom. Ultimately teachers could accept or refuse the offer, according to the dictates of their conscience. Several factors, however, went into such a decision. There was skepticism associated with the television experiment, and the perceived difficulty of being a village change agent. The teacher already gave up late afternoons and a half-day per week in in-service instruction through television: he considered himself entitled to leisure time after a full day's occupations with children. Although these several factors predisposed many teachers against accepting the adult education beckon, some volumteered. Also, some pressure was exerted upon primary school inspectors to designate schools with selected animators. A consequence of the voluntary nature of the animation was that eager village adults could not be guaranteed their TV would be available for evening viewing, nor that the TV program would be translated and a discussion led.

Voluntarism in terms of the gratuitousness of the animation became a key issue in the out-of-school program. At the outset teachers volunteered for the job or were appointed or elected by the school principal. Assuming their extra hours would eventually be paid as was the case with adult literacy classes (the out-of-school program director would reply that the remuneration question was under study), these animators at first zealously performed their tasks. Periodically, animators were tapped for workshops in which out-of-school program directors and researchers/evaluators ran sessions of information and training on the subject of animation and evaluation. There were mixed feelings[40] among animators concerning the workshops, which on the one hand contributed to their general training, and on the other cut into their holiday time (for workshops were always organized when school was not in session). As time wore on, animators let it be known that the sentiment of sacrifice had reached grave proportions. Discontent with the volunteer system without remuneration became a major issue, as evidenced both through animators' letters sent to the out-of-school program and through site visits by teams into the interior.

The out-of-school department's position on voluntary animation changed from idealistic to practical. It preferred the principle of voluntarism both for the spirit of rural development and for the role it wished to see schoolteachers play in mobilizing village actions. Yet

---

[40] Expressed during evaluation session of workshop held on out-of-school program research studies on housing, budgeting, and media access, Bouaké, Ivory Coast, April 16, 1976, and also at a previous workshop in 1973 attended by animators.

it understood the growing threat to the continuation of animation due to the remuneration issue. The optimism with which the program director responded to animator demand, saying "You will be satisfied" reflected his sincere hope that his budget could be increased for such a need. The department submitted memos to the Minister justifying the added cost, calculated at $200,000 for the 1976 year (covering 2000 animators). The essential justification presented was that certain teachers provided a service which others were excused from, and that no incentive was possible in this case of injustice. The ministerial decision came in November of 1976 and it put an end to the uncertainties and to the budget request: animation was decreed mandatory for all primary school teachers and it would remain unpaid.

A consequence of this decision was that the regional primary school inspectors acquired a new function: supervisors of out-of-sc ool animation. Before, their professional responsibilities had been totally directed toward in-school matters such as: professional exams, in-service instruction. Now, each school was to develop its own policy of animator designation, which might consist of a revolving responsibility, and the inspector was to monitor the new system. The reaction to the decision and to the involvement of inspectors was not what had been hoped. Teachers resented official dictates impinging on what they considered their liberty; inspectors continued by and large to preoccupy themselves with in-school matters, not investing their time into out-of-school affairs.

Clearly the history of counting on primary school teachers in Ivory Coast to become effective animators of adult television has revealed serious shortcomings. Alternatives to the teacher as animator have been discussed and even sought. Since 1975 extension agents of the Ministry of Youth, Sports, and Mass Education have been trained and have served as animators of TV programs. Defection of an animator in rural schools has occasionally produced a "natural leader" from the community who took over. Sometimes an accepted village leader, sometimes a school dropout who served as translator, sometimes a development agent who knew the subject matter particularly well emerged as animator.[41] No alternative has to date provided the sheer mass of persons which a teaching force of 17,000 can potentially muster: yet despite their small numbers, animators from other sources can fulfill a vital role in improving the qualitative results of out-of-school television.

---

[41] Grant, Steve. Out-of-school TV in four villages. Abidjan: Evaluation Service, 1974. This early account reports a case study of how a villager spontaneously assumed the role of animator.

## The Program Depends on Foreign Assistance

Foreign assistance could be broken down to include financial contributions, non-Ivorian staff, materials, and training components within the out-of-school department, and non-Ivorian sources of influence upon policy and programs. Concerning financial contributions, in out-of-school education, as in the in-school program, the majority of costs are borne by the Ivory Coast. It has been estimated that for 1975-1976 two-thirds of the total costs for the out-of-school program were covered by the host country, while one-third was contributed by the French government's technical assistance Ministry.[42] This proportion, financed by the French, covered the areas of personnel, equipment, services, and training. Influence from external groups with a high expatriate representation, such as the Minister's Cabinet, the scientific advisory committee and the Evaluation Service, has surely existed. However, it is very difficult to assess and will not be treated in this analysis. Rather, the internal influence from expatriates within the out-of-school department will constitute the subject of the present section.

Out of a total staff of eighty-five in 1976, ten people (12%) are expatriate. This figure is somewhat lower than the overall percentage of foreign technical assistants in the ETV program, numbering in all

---

[42] Klees, Steven J. Cost analysis of non-formal ETV systems: A case study of the "extra-scolaire" system in the Ivory Coast. Abidjan, Evaluation Service, 1977, p. 103.

over five hundred (19% expatriates).[43] It can be noted from Appendix B, however, that the ten positions are key ones, either in specialized technical fields or in overall management or advisory capacities. Relative to in-school expatriate personnel, the group of ten appear to possess above-average qualifications and to achieve more continuity. Four have been with the out-of-school program since its inception; one of these has the experience of fifteen years in the educational system of the Ivory Coast.

Program evolution plans foresee a phasing out of external assistance -- both in monetary and in personnel terms -- by the early 1980s. With this perspective, counterpart training is a crucial feature of program development. Training takes place on-the-job, as the ten expatriates work with nationals in Ivorian institutions; and in programs abroad. Usually on a one-to-one basis, the French photographer works constantly with an Ivorian trainee, a French film editor and the French videotape specialist with two more trainees, etc. At these levels training has appeared to be satisfactory, although it should be mentioned that the number of trainees involved does not allow for any attrition when one stops to envisage a total Ivorization of spots in a few years time Training at the film director's level seems to be more problem-ridden. In the artistic task of creating a film, the delegation of responsibility is a difficult concession to

---

[43] Eicher, Jean-Claude and Orivel, François. Cost Analysis of the Primary Instructional Television Program in the Ivory Coast. Abidjan: Evaluation Service, 1977.

achieve of a film director. Moreover the French film directors are ambitious and very conscious of their own professional future: they do not see their role as essentially an advisory one. The unfortunate result of this situation in Ivory Coast is that, in one case, only when a French film director left on summer holiday did an Ivorian counterpart completely assume filmmaking responsibilities! And consequently when the French film editor saw the results of the counterpart's work and judged them inadequate, a dismaying failure in training becomes apparent. In this case, however, it is heartening to learn that the assistant later in the year produced a film on his own which was broadcast, and was considered coherent and clear in its message. This simple example illustrates the type of training problem which can arise when training is more or less left to take place on its own.

There are other forms of training besides that of on-the-job. There are organized programs in the Ivory Coast University in Abidjan or in-training programs abroad. The Audio-Visual Center of the University has put together a two-year course for rural TV animation leaders, which will graduate its first group of 20 trainees in 1978. Foreign training programs have received Ivorian trainees; a sound operator spent several months in a Parisian program, and a handful of Ivorian have studied production, animation, and program administration in Quebec.

Before leaving the personnel side of reliance upon expatriate assistance, one important issue should be raised: the disparity in qualification level between expatriate and Ivorian filmmakers. Technical

assistants are recruited through French government channels, normally in Paris, and candidates are routinely submitted to Ivory Coast authorities for final approval. Contracts are for two years and are renewable, barring any budgetary cuts. The French have successfully recruited experienced filmmakers, who are accustomed to the high technical quality of film production available in France. One point is that they often send films to costly Parisian laboratories to improve the sound or picture quality beyond that achievable through the Ministry of Information's technical services. But a more important point is the disparity between the high technical quality that the French film producers are accustomed to and that of the neophyte Ivorian assistant filmmakers. The model which the French government has introduced is so good that it cannot be imitated! The model set is so inaccessible to the former schoolteachers or Fine Arts students who are learning to become filmmakers, that a double standard of filmmaking is being maintained and reinforced. Had a lower-level more accessible model been set, had not filmmakers but filmmaking advisors and facilitators composed the French government's technical assistant crew, the chances of producing Ivorian films and getting ahead of, rather than behind, schedule in training local film producers would have been enhanced.[44]

---

[44] The cultural implications of technology transfer have been a subject of increasing debate. Professionalism and training in this context are discussed in O'Brien (1974), where the author cites the traditional argument trainers use for maintaining an imported broadcasting model: "It would lower the professional standards." (Page 8)

Besides personnel and training, the other two areas of expatriate assistance are equipment and services. Most all technical equipment -- from cameras and microphones to editing tables to film developing and copying units -- has been donated by the French government. Specialized or finishing services, as yet unavailable in Ivory Coast, are performed in a Parisian laboratory under the auspices of an African educational development office suported by the French government. In 1977, a prolonged laboratory strike in Paris prevented films from being finished and broadcast in Ivory Coast according to schedule, illustrating an obvious drawback to the dependence upon this type of foreign service.

## CHAPTER 4

## CONCLUSIONS, IMAGE, AND PLANS

The out-of-school program was moulded in many ways by its origin. It was created as an appendage, not as a major thrust, and has been fighting an uphill battle for recognition. It has persisted and is still progressing due to the tenacity, drive, and talent of some of its leaders. The Education sector, in the absence of competing claimants, talked its way into leading the adult education enterprise in Ivory Coast. Its own claim was based much more on the medium it controlled -- the television -- than on a pervasive adult education ideology. Education authorities assumed primary school teachers would make the most natural and most effective facilitators in advancing out-of-school education through television. Teachers, lacking the motivation of extra pay for extra services, as well as lacking the reputation of a respected and integrated force in the village setting, turned out, on the whole, to be disappointly ineffective animators.

Collaboration with ministries outside education and with development institutions born under the sign of cooperation, coordination, and planned development strategy showed many indications of breaking down. First, programming since it was determined by a top-down inter-ministerial committee, was not designed to take into consideration the expressed needs of the viewing population. Thus, while numerous inquiries into villagers' educational needs were made by Evaluation

Service and World Bank research teams, uncovering a priority item such as literacy, this topic has been left untouched so far by the ministries and agencies who decide on the subjects for broadcast. Second, budgetary limitations have obliged the out-of-school department to reduce its role on occasion to that of merely a technical service hired out to a financing sponsor. In these instances it becomes exceedingly difficult to insure an educational content within the TV program. Third, a latent power struggle has emerged, as evidenced by increased duplications of effort and by the jousting for responsibility. Finally, lack of participation and follow-up from extension agents have greatly decreased the potential impact of educational television for adults.

Television as the principal communications medium and broadcasting in the French language have also constituted factors which decrease the potential reach and impact of adult education efforts. Neither of these strategies allows the out-of-school program to reach directly one of its main target audiences, the mass of poor rural farmers. To overcome the constraints of these two factors, broadcasting in local languages over radio has been recently suggested by consultants called in to examine the effectiveness of out-of-school programs.

The personnel situation in the out-of-school department has suffered from its preponderence of schoolteacher-trained staff called upon to play all roles of a production company. Fortunately, the Fine Arts Institute has been able to provide filmmakers. Dependence upon the

French for key staff was strong to begin with. Even though the percentage of French technical assistants in the department has decreased from 23% in 1974 to 12% in 1976 (see Appendix B), their number has increased. Furthermore, the French positions are still pivotal ones. The visibility of the out-of-school program crossed Ivory Coast's borders when it won, in 1975, one of the Japan Prizes and in 1976 a prize from the African Union of Radio and Television Broadcasters. Without taking any credit away from the two filmmakers so honored, one is nevertheless obliged to admit that they are French, not Ivorian. Training, especially at the higher levels, has not been satisfactory, according to one of the program leaders.[45]

Visibility and credibility of the out-of-school program have hardly been touched on in this report which has instead focussed on decisions and major characteristics of program management. Nevertheless the out-of-school leaders are constantly preoccupied with their image, which is revealing about the position the program holds. They cannot afford to be exclusively a production bureau, but must fight the battle for national recognition as a viable institution. In the rural areas, visibility for out-of-school programs can be created through the programs themselves, through teacher interest, through an occasional radio or press report which is heard or read, or by visits of out-of-school personnel or evaluation staff who improve the program's image by being willing to leave the capital to meet villagers on their home

---

[45]Conversation, June 24, 1977.

territory. In the urban areas, a strenuous press campaign is led, whereby TV programs are announced in advance, and on one occasion a photo-novella-type excerpt appeared daily for one month depicting a five-part TV serial which was shown mainly for urban audiences.

In rural areas, teachers and educational administrators are generally very familiar with "Télé Pour Tous," as they are frequent TV spectators each evening. However, they do not constitute institutional supporters for the out-of-school program. That is, they enjoy the program for their own entertainment without lending backing to try to assure the program's success in the village. Regional administrative authorities (such as sub-prefects) seem to join in the personal familiarity with the program series, but do not appear to feel concerned by it on any wider level. When a research team paid a courtesy call on one rural sub-prefect, the latter barely had time to receive them, claiming "the out-of-school program is not important."[46] Even extension workers, who are usually not notified about films in their subject area which are broadcast , have rarely taken to support the out-of-school program.[47] An educational researcher who had interviewed extension workers found their predominant attitude concerning the out-of-school program to be "that's not my concern!"[48] Village viewers themselves are often split along age lines as far as receptivity to television is concerned. Youth

---

[46] This event occurred on April 28, 1977

[47] République de Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère de l'enseignement primaire et de la télévision éducative, Sous-direction de l'éducation extra-scolaire. Post-scolaire: projet. Abidjan, 1977, p. 18.

[48] Reported to Evaluation Service at Bouaké workshop. April 16, 1976.

has proved to be a receptive audience; elders much less so. Television, of course, represents a new form of communication not included in the traditional repertory. And for the many reasons cited earlier, adults have problems attending a children's classroom for TV. Relatively few village chiefs or notables attend school broadcasts in the evening[49] and their lack of encouragement manifestly reduces the participation and action roles villagers will, in consequence, play. On occasion villagers would assemble in force to greet an out-of-school delegation, but when apprised of the object of the mission would make disgruntled comments: they had thought it a political party gathering, or preliminaries to the installation of electricity in the village! In the hierarchy of village matters, it cannot be said that the out-of-school education program has obtained a priority rating.

In urban areas, where the adult viewing audience of out-of-school programs has been estimated at 34%,[50] there is also ambivalence concerning the appeal and worth of out-of-school television. The film critic in the party daily newspaper has applauded out-of-school television. Referring to one of the prize-winning films as good "African" cinema (it happened to be directed by a Frenchman as was mentioned in the last section), he considered the moral value and the educational significance of the message to be a credit to the

---

[49] See R. Fritz, op. cit., Appendix VIII.

[50] Ivorian Institute for Public Opinion (IIOP). Population Surveys. Abidjan, 1975.

Ivory Coast.[51] It would be better, he thought, to produce thirty such locally made films than to agree to having Ivorian extras appear in one prestige foreign film (The Academy Award Winning "Black and White in Color" without being named constituted the comparison). Undoubtedly the filmmaking industry in Ivory Coast has advanced; actors have been found and trained, technicians have gained experience due to the regularity with which out-of-shool TV programs have been produced and broadcast.

Another example of press coverage of out-of-school television concerns the serial of five TV programs on urban delinquency broadcast in 1977. A letter to the editors published in the weekly national magazine criticized the series for having brought up too many themes without having treated any in detail.[52] Although the criticism was not in itself complimentary, such controversy in a prominent magazine proves a definite visibility of the out-of-school program which its leaders have been seeking to promote.

The basic difficulty in defending a principally rurally oriented TV series in the city is that the TV viewers would most probably prefer watching something else! Imported police or adventure stories are extremely popular (Kojak, Hawaii-Five-O, Simon Templar, for example). Twice in the spring of 1977 an out-of-school program was cancelled because of a satellite broadcast of a championship soccer game in

---

[51] Fraternité Matin, 13 October 1976.

[52] Ivoire Dimanche, No. 331, 12 June 1977.

Europe. Whenever there were re-broadcasts of out-of-school programs, either because they were especially good ones, because their message could be better understood after a second viewing, or because the scheduled program had not been prepared on time, some urban viewers manifested their discontent and impatience. The out-of-school program leaders were not particularly bothered, however, when urban viewers complained about two-minute educational flashes concerning unclean water. For, the flash which showed microscopic worms cavorting in a drop of unboiled, unfiltered water, and which gave evening viewers in the rural areas a dramatic look into the dangers around them, was broadcast at the time most urban middle-class families sat down to the dinner table (long after village families had eaten their last meal of the day)! In general, urban viewers are very familiar with out-of-school broadcasts, but seem to consider many of them of little pertinence to their own lives -- slow in rhythm, and repetitious in nature. The programs which are produced mainly for urban audiences (such as the serial on delinquency or a program which was produced on electricity) seem to be more appreciated by the urban public than the other out-of-school programs.

This report has looked at the origins of out-of-school education in Ivory Coast, the major decisions or inherited characteristics which shaped its development and some of the consequences of these decisions. This past section has presented a critical appraisal of out-of-school TV education in an effort to define the public image which has been created by the program. This last section will draw from the

guidelines outlined in the five-year plans and look at tendencies in the present-day out-of-school program. An evaluation of whether the out-of-school program attained the objectives set out in the Plans is not intended. Rather, a comparison of the national plan for out-of-school education for the periods 1971-1975 and 1976-1980 will be matched with experience to date and tendencies in present development.

The 1971-75 five-year plan, mainly written before the in-school television program began, includes a three-point objective for out-of-school education:

a) provide schooled and unschooled youth, in their own milieu, with the means of production;

b) facilitate their settlement in their original milieu;

c) direct the aspirations of an increasingly large number of them to improving the rural milieu and modern agriculture.[53]

The emphasis in these goals is on reaching youth, rather than adults; on discouraging the leaving of one's milieu; on improvement of living standards in rural areas; and on furnishing youth with what it takes to be producers, mainly in the modern agricultural sector. It sounds like a list of socio-economic directives to regulate the movement of people and to subsidize production; how it is to be done and with what means is not established. The adult TV programs certainly aimed at reaching the third goal: improving the rural milieu and modern agriculture. Programs on both these areas and written documents sent

---

[53] République de Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère du Plan. Plan Quinquennal de Développement, 1971-75. Abidjan, 1972.

to teacher/animators showed a strong effort in that direction. Furnishing the means of production, however, brings up such questions as capital investment, land distribution, credit systems and marketing schemes, issues so complicated and far-reaching that they involve the entire political and economic system. Likewise with the goal of stemming the rural exodus, of encouraging rural people to live on their land -- a vast set of all-englobing issues arises: the incentive structure; the labor market; the decentralization of the economy; these issues tower above the limited capabilities of an educational television system. The 1971-75 Plan set vast, idealistic goals for itself in the area of out-of-school education, way above the performance level a fledgling television system could hope to achieve.

Out-of-school education in the subsequent five-year plan (1976-1980) covered very different aspirations.[54] Stress on agricultural production; on "staying on the farm;" on reaching a certain age group, youth, was missing. It is as though the national planners had limited the impossibilities of their previous lofty goals and assessed the mediocre success of out-of-school education to date. What it described was a new strategy, containing more accessible sub-goals: (1) out-of-school education should first of all be planned and coordinated; (2) it should train those who have not been to school; (3) it should provide life-long education to workers; (4) literacy programs should be made

---

[54] République de Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère du Plan. Plan Quinquennal de Développement, 1976-80, Volume III, 3. Abidjan, 1976, pp. 174-180. The Plan, largely written in 1975, was released in 1977.

available; (5) animation in the cities should be developed; (6) animation in general should not be translated into pedagogical terms as merely giving didactic lessons -- other more imaginative devices should be sought. And finally, as personnel to run out-of-school programs are being formed, more emphasis should be placed on human qualities and on personal communication skills than on technology. In essence, a wide-ranging new agenda was set up by educational planners at the national level, as they took account of felt pressures in new directions and implicitly tried to compensate for deficient progress in some out-of-school areas.

If they were to adhere to the development goals of the national plan, as the out-of-school program committed itself to doing, the priorities of the out-of-school leaders would henceforth be integrated planning, literacy, animation, training, and lifelong education. Target audiences would be unschooled persons, workers, and city dwellers. Emphasis would be laid more on non-school and personal animation and less on technology. The new "charter" recognizes that personal rather than electronic communication is what is really needed for rural development. It recognizes that urban dwellers in Ivory Coast will be increasing and that, despite the difficulty of organizing them into a captive audience, they must be reached. It recognizes that literacy skills are much in demand.

In the face of such a new charter, which way will the out-of-school program go? Will it, for instance, move toward literacy as a major

goal? In 1975 the out-of-school director declared that his department was seriously studying how television could launch a French language literacy campaign.[55] Yet as of late 1977 no programs have been launched in this area. Literacy specialists at the Institute for Applied Linguistics have prepared and tested materials which they are waiting to apply.

Concerning the increased role of animation, the out-of-school department, burnt by the refusal to grant animators financial compensation, is seeking ways of involving institutions in animation activities. In July 1977, 150 school principals attended a workshop to hear about the out-of-school education program and hopefully to stimulate interest in their schools and communities. Another workshop was planned later in the year to reach 50 teacher-trainers with the intention of adding out-of-school animation to the core curriculum of teacher training colleges. Will the out-of-school program devote more attention to personal interaction and less to technological, that is primarily through the television? The television medium which in the first place caused the educational sector to absorb out-of-school matters within its purview is not on the way out. From all signs it will continue to occupy the center attraction of the out-of-school program's publicity campaign. Insufficient human contact in reaching target audiences is an admitted weakness of the out-of-school department, and will continue to be a goal, although incentives and motivations for such contact will probably remain sadly absent.

---

[55] DIRECT. Télévision et besoins d'éducation post-primaire en Côte d'Ivoire. Paris, no. VIII-71, October 1975, pp. 45, 47.

As long as animation activities are performed by primary school teachers, the chances are high that the pedagogy employed will be didactic and unimaginative, a mere transposition of the teachers' child-directed behavior. Parallel to the in-school/out-of-school teaching styles there were hopes that the television teacher in Ivory Coast would show a marked difference from the traditional teacher in classroom interaction, that is, be less directive, more bent on pupil participation and on offering positive feedback. No statistically significant difference was found among the TV and traditional teachers in this regard in research performed in 1972-75,[56] which leads one to believe that despite new teacher training programs and the introduction of classroom television, teacher behavior in significant areas has not yet been modified.

The desired target audience for out-of-school programs remains a mystifying muddle. The 1976-80 Plan favors programs for one disadvantaged lot: the unschooled. Certainly emphasis on literacy training is compatible with the needs of this audience which has never learned formally to count or write. The Plan also singles out workers and affirms a new interest in the educational betterment of all those in the working force. At about the same time (1975), the Primary Education Minister foresaw the use of out-of-school television, in part, for the majority of school leavers denied a place in secondary

---

[56] République de Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère de l'enseignement primaire et de la télévision éducative, Service d'évaluation et le laboratoire de pédagogie expérimentale de Liège, Belgique. (Preliminary reports.)

schooling.[57] His concern about such an audience is understandable, for his principal constituents are primary school parents who let him know when they feel their children are not receiving adequate education.

In the face of these pronouncements on target audiences one must compare past and present out-of-school department policies. First, a distinction different from any of those above has been adhered to in the past: programs are produced essentially for rural or urban audiences. There have also been programs designed for geographical or agricultural sub-groups, such as all those villages with cooperatives, or for cotton growers. Schooled versus unschooled, workers versus non-workers have not been basic category distinctions of program policy in the past. Neither has the Minister's concern of a "post-school" audience been a central pillar of out-of-school development policy. Indeed, one can say that the out-of-school programs to date have done nothing to relieve the monster political problem of tens of thousands of pupils each year who cannot continue in schooling after the primary level.

The out-of-school department has stated that in the future it will establish new target audiences: adults and youths (both in- and out-of-school).[58] The meaning of this resolution cannot yet be known.

---

[57] DIRECT, op. cit., p. 43.

[58] République de Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère de l'enseignement primaire et de la télévision éducative, Sous-direction de l'éducation extra-scolaire. Actualisation du programme d'éducation télévisuelle extra-scolaire. Abidjan, 1977, op. cit.

One can notice that the avenue of providing lifelong education to workers is probably not going to be pursued at this time. But what is even more noticeable is that there is basic controversy or, rather, that there are multiple interests to be served which are voiced in one out-of-school program debate. A Minister has one set of "personal political" objectives; a national plan is developed from a totally different perspective; the out-of-school department is composed of pedagogues who have one or several idea(s) of adult education, and of TV producers whose main aim is to produce technically superior films. In the absence of strong leadership at the out-of-school department with a systematic agenda based on some well conceived ideology, the program experiments, receives criticism, is told to re-organize, and sounds forth a new rhetoric. And the department admits that if the severe budgetary constraints operate as in the past, its program will be greatly hindered.

A final feature in the 1976-80 Plan which is basic to the discussion of target audiences and objectives is the planning and coordination of out-of-school education. The fact that an integrated policy was required to be defined after a few years of out-of-school education revealed that indeed things were not running smoothly. This report has previously described the ambiguous coordinating roles assigned to both the Ministry for Primary Education and the Planning Ministry (see pp. 54-55) both of which are dependent upon the Information Ministry for the granting of air time. One thing which will have to be closely observed is the impact of the recent presidential decree

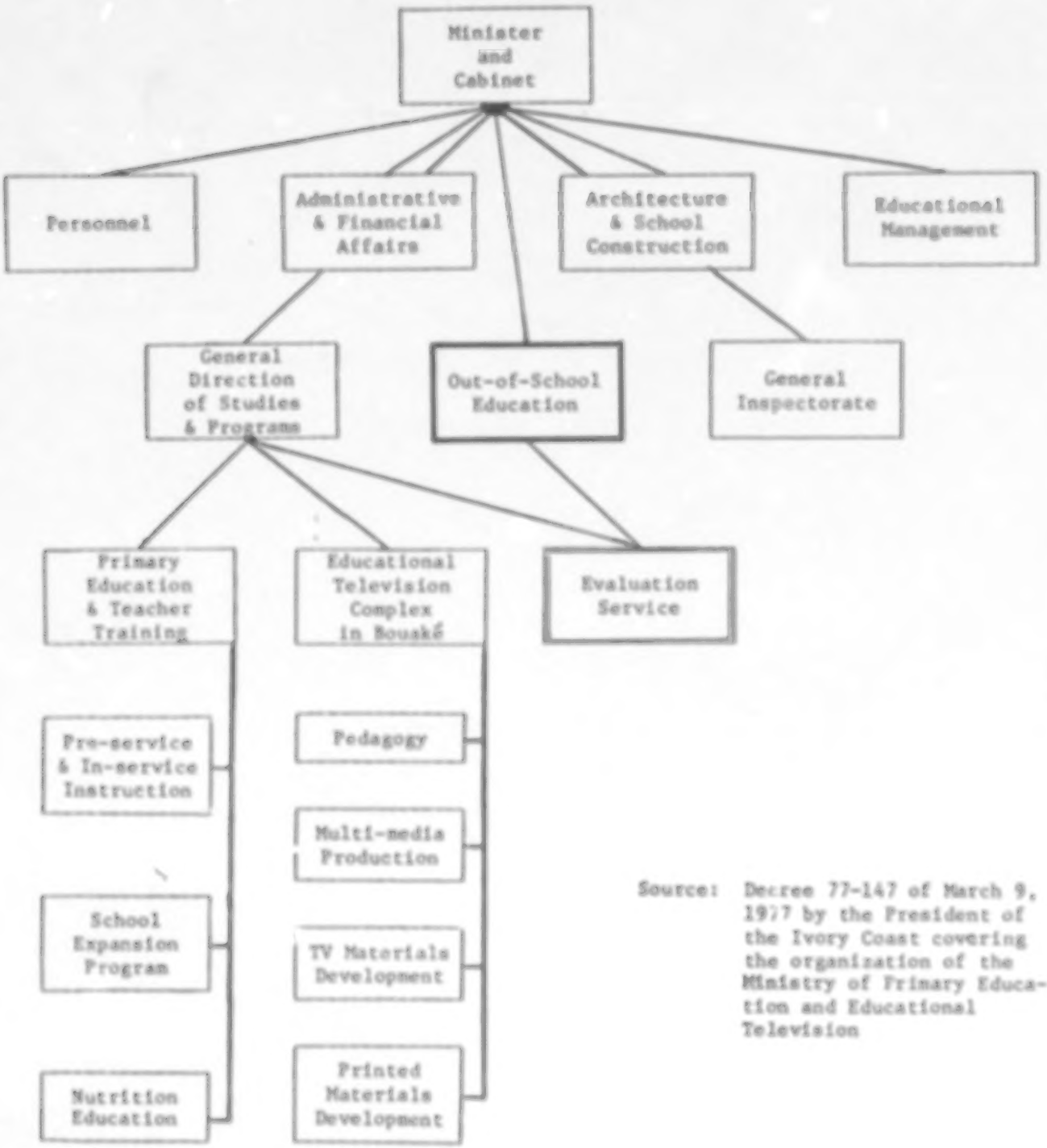
that educational messages to adults through the media, especially television, will be coordinated by the Primary Education Ministry; this decree may exacerbate rather than resolve the coordination problem. Another coordinating body which is up for reexamination is the inter-ministerial committee.[59] Dissatisfaction with the role this body plays has been expressed in its meetings. Although the out-of-school department has ideas on how the body could be vivified, the problem of wide control and across-the-board planning is discouragingly difficult to solve. Similar problems are faced and dealt with in other countries; for instance, in Guatemala (Lenglet and McAnany, 1977) where dissatisfaction with monopolistic control prompted the creation of a "junta," where representatives from eight different sectors plan, and are supposed to implement, rural development projects. Yet this strategy is also proving unsatisfactory, but for a different set of reasons. Forces in Ivory Coast may also bring about changes in who does the planning and coordinating of out-of-school education. There was a time when there was no competition among those institutions who cared about rural or non-formal education. Now helping the rural poor is on the agenda of international money lenders; rural development is on the lips of local politicians. For the first time, in this new field, government bodies are vying with each other in an effort to assert their authority and to obtain a fresh source of power.

---

[59] Actualisation du programme d'éducation télévisuelle extra-scolaire, Abidjan, 1977, op. cit.

APPENDIX A

Ministry of Primary Education and Educational Television




Source: Decree 77-147 of March 9, 1977 by the President of the Ivory Coast covering the organization of the Ministry of Primary Education and Educational Television

## APPENDIX B

### Growth of Out-of-school Department Personnel

### 1974*

| Administration | | Production | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Director | 1 | Director |
| 1 | Secretary | 2 | Assistants |
| 1 | Chauffeur | 4 | Members production team |
| 1 | Messenger boy | 5 | Members filmmaking team |
| 4 | Typists | (12) | |
| 1 | Accountant | | |
| 1 | Press secretary | | |
| 1 | Film librarian | | |
| (11) | | | |

| Animation | | Research | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Director | 1 | Director |
| 1 | Technical assistant | 1 | Assistant |
| 3 | Printed materials specialists | (2) | |
| (5) | | | |

Total = 30 persons, among whom 7 expatriates (23%): All expatriates are French and include:
- 1 Production Director
- 1 Animation Technical Assistant
- 1 Film Producer
- 1 Research Director
- 2 Film Directors
- 1 Photographer

*Source: Note de Service No. 1/74, 10 December 1974, Out-of-School Department, Abidjan

1975*

Administration

1 Director
1 Secretary
5 Chauffeurs
1 Accountant
1 Film librarian
4 Typists
1 Press Secretary

(14)

Production

1 Technical adviser
5 Film producers
5 Film directors
1 Assistant film director
2 Cameramen
1 Assistant cameraman
2 Graphists
2 Film editors
1 Photographer
3 Trainees

(23)

Animation

1 Director
1 Technical adviser
9 Animation specialists

(11)

Research

1 Director
1 Psychologist

(2)

Total = 50 persons, among whom 12 expatriates (24%). All expatriates are French with the exception of two U.N. volunteers who are American. They include:

1 secretary
1 film librarian
1 production advisor
1 film producer
4 film directors
1 film editor
1 photographer
1 animation advisor
1 research director

*Source: Ministry Note, 1 March 1975.

1976*

| | Administration |
|---|---|
| 1 | Director |
| 1 | Technical assistant |
| 4 | Coordinators |
| 2 | Broadcasters |
| 6 | Chauffeurs |
| 4 | Secretaries |
| 2 | Film librarians |
| (20) | |

| | Production |
|---|---|
| 1 | Director |
| 1 | Technical assistant |
| 5 | Film director |
| 5 | Assistant film directors |
| 5 | VTR operators |
| 1 | Scriptwriter |
| 5 | Sound operators |
| 2 | Control room operators |
| 4 | Cameramen |
| 2 | Graphists |
| 2 | Photographers |
| 6 | Film editors |
| (39) | |

| | Animation |
|---|---|
| 1 | Director |
| 9 | Printed materials specialists |
| 6 | Animation specialists |
| (16) | |

| | Research |
|---|---|
| 1 | Director |
| 5 | Researchers |
| 4 | Feedback specialists |
| (10) | |

Total = 85 persons, among whom 10 expatriates (12%): All expatriates are French with the exception of a Senegalese Research Director under local contract. They include:

| | |
|---|---|
| 2 Film Directors | 2 Researchers |
| 2 Technical Assistants | 1 Sound Operator |
| 2 Film Editors | 1 Photographer |

*Source: Personnel chart posted in out-of-school department.

APPENDIX C

Subject Area and Number of TV Programs Produced 1973-77*

| Subject Area | 1973-74 | 1974-75 | 1975-76 | 1976-77 | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Agriculture | 6 | 6 | 9 | 4 | 25 |
| Health, Hygiene | 4 | 5 | 9 | 1 | 19 |
| Water Resources | 1 | 14 | 1 | 0 | 16 |
| Folklore, Traditions | 2 | 7 | 2 | 2 | 13 |
| Housing | 0 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 9 |
| Education | 2 | 0 | 1 | 5 | 8 |
| Budgeting, Banking | 0 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 7 |
| Livestock Raising | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 7 |
| Urban Life | 0 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 6 |
| Feedback to Viewers | 1 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 5 |
| Labor | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| Environment | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 7 |
| Total | 17 | 36 | 35 | 40 | 128 |

*These figures apply to programs produced and broadcast but exclude re-runs. Redundancy through showing re-runs is not only a frequent recommendation of rural adult education specialists but also a frequent request from rural TV viewers in Ivory Coast. Re-broadcasts have increased to up to 17 percent of the 1976-1977 year's programs. One must also note that during July, August, and September, the out-of-school program has retained one weekly half-hour at prime time for additional re-runs. Animation rarely occurs at these times, however, since primary school teachers are absent from their assigned schools.

## APPENDIX D

Illustrative List of Sponsoring Departments of Co-Productions

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. The Ministry of Agriculture's Department on Cooperatives | A three-program series showing old scattered farms, modern regrouped farms, and a dynamic example of a cooperative |
| 2. The Ministry of Agriculture's Department on Coffee and Cocoa | A two-program series on the new national policy on coffee marketing |
| 3. Ministry of Health's National Health Institute | A three-program series on breast feeding |
| 4. Ministry of Animal Production's Livestock Department | A seven-program series on cattle, sheep, goat, and poultry husbandry as well as on general modern livestock practices |
| 5. The state Bank for Agricultural Development | A six-program series on budgeting and savings, on foresightedness and reason in domestic economy |
| 6. A private Catholic rural animation federation in Bouaké | A two-program series on the rural exodus; a young laborer's dilemma |
| 7. The Planning Ministry's Office for Rural Promotion | A seven-program series on water resources use and the dangers of unclean water |

## APPENDIX E

### Average Cost of Producing one 30-minute Film*

The out-of-school department has calculated the average cost of producing a thirty-minute film:

| | |
|---|---|
| 30 minute Black and White film with no professional actors | $2,390 |
| 30 minute Color film with no professional actors | 2,670 |
| 30 minute Black and White film with professional actors | 4,280 |
| 30 minute Color film with professional actors | 4,560 |

These figures cover film at the rate of 4 to 1 or four times the length of the final product; a per diem of $10 for each member of the production crew for two weeks; payment of actors and/or extras; and miscellaneous expenditures. They do not cover salaries, vehicle use or fuel consumption, amortization on equipment or facilities, any laboratory charges for development, or sound mixing. For further discussion on how to interpret these figures, see Kleas (1977).

*Source:
"Le Coût d'une émission extra-scolaire," Out-of-school Department, Abidjan, March 1976, 3 pp.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY


Benveniste, A. The reception and animation of out-of-school educational television programs in the Ivory Coast: A case study of four villages. Abidjan: Evaluation Service, 1976.

DIRECT. Télévision et besoins d'éducation post-primaire en Côte d'Ivoire. Paris, no. VIII-71, October 1975.

Eicher, Jean-Claude et Orivel, François. Cost analysis of the primary instructional television program in the Ivory Coast. Abidjan: Evaluation Service, 1977.

Fraternité Matin, 13 October 1976.

Fritz, Rüdiger. Le public atteint par Télé Pour Tous. Abidjan: Evaluation Service, 1976.

Grant, Steve. Out-of-school TV in four villages. Abidjan: Evaluation Service, 1974.

Grant, Steve and Seya, Pierre. Visit to 23 villages to determine the impact of the water series produced by the out-of-school TV department. Abidjan: Evaluation Service, 1976.

Hancock, Alan. Communication planning for development: An operational framework (forthcoming).

Hirschman, Albert O. Development projects observed. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute, 1967.

Ivoire Dimanche, no. 331, 12 June 1977.

Ivorian Institute for Public Opinion (IIOP). Population Surveys. Abidjan, 1975.

Jouët, Josiane. Rapport sur la compréhension de l'émission et de l'affiche sur le ver de Guinée. Abidjan: Direction extra-scolaire, 1976.

Klees, Steven J. Cost analysis of non-formal ETV systems: A case study of the "extra-scolaire" system in the Ivory Coast. Abidjan: Evaluation Service, 1977.

Klees, Steven J. and Jamison, Dean T. A cost analysis of instructional television in the Ivory Coast. Abidjan: Evaluation Service, 1976 (2nd Edition).

Longlet, Frans. A report on out-of-school television in the Ivory Coast before and during its first operational year. Abidjan: Evaluation Service, 1975.

Langlet, Frena (forthcoming doctoral dissertation).

Langlet, Frena and McAnany, Emile G. Rural adult education and the role of mass media: A comparative analysis of four projects. Stanford University: Institute for Communication Research, 1977.

Markle, David G. and Nancy H.; Carlberg, Conrad C.; Foote, Dennis E. Final report: History and recommendations resulting from evaluation planning for the Federation of Rocky Mountain States' Educational Technology Demonstration. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1974.

Mayo, John K. and Judith A. An Administrative history of El Salvador's educational reform. Washington, D.C.: Clearinghouse on Development Communication, A.I.D. Studies in Educational Technology, 1971.

O'Brien, Rita Cruise. Domination and dependence in mass communications: Implications for the use of broadcasting in developing countries. Brighton, England: Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex, 1974.

République de Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère de l'éducation. Actualisation du programme d'éducation télévisuelle. Abidjan, 1973.

République de Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère de l'éducation nationale. Principes et modalités d'application des nouvelles techniques et méthodes pour l'enseignement du premier degré, l'éducation post-primaire et la formation des maîtres, Volume 1. Paris: no date (c. 1968).

République de Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère de l'éducation nationale. Principes des nouvelles techniques et méthodes pour l'éducation extra-scolaire des jeunes, l'éducation des adultes et la formation des éducateurs, Volume 4. No place, no date (c. 1971).

République de Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère de l'éducation nationale, Sous-direction de l'éducation extra-scolaire. Colloque sur les technologies de l'éducation extra-scolaire du 7 au 12 janvier 1974, Rapport final. Abidjan, 1974.

République de Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère de l'éducation nationale, Sous-direction de l'éducation extra-scolaire. La télévision éducative au service du développement. Abidjan, no date (c. 1975).

République de Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère de l'enseignement primaire et de la télévision éducative, Service d'évaluation et le Laboratoire de pédagogie expérimentale de Liège, Belgique. (Preliminary reports.) Abidjan, 1974-75.

République de Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère de l'enseignement primaire et de la télévision éducative, Sous-direction de l'éducation extra-scolaire. Actualisation du programme d'éducation télévisuelle extra-scolaire. Abidjan, 1977.

République de Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère de l'enseignement primaire et de la télévision éducative, Sous-direction de l'éducation extra-scolaire. Post-scolaire: projet. Abidjan, 1977.

République de Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère de l'enseignement primaire et de la télévision éducative, Sous-direction de l'éducation extra-scolaire. Préparation au comité interministériel. Abidjan, 1976.

République de Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère de l'enseignement primaire et de la télévision éducative, Sous-direction de l'éducation extra-scolaire. Préparation au comité interministériel de programmation de la direction de l'éducation extra-scolaire (secteur adultes). Abidjan, 1977.

République de Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère de l'information. Cinquième Congrès du Parti Démocratique de Côte d'Ivoire, octobre 1970. Abidjan, 1971.

République de Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère du Plan. Etude régionale d'éducation, Partie II, Rapports de zones (provisoires). Abidjan, 8 volumes, 1976.

République de Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère du Plan. La Côte d'Ivoire en chiffres, édition 1977-78. Abidjan, 1977.

République de Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère du Plan. Plan quinquennal de développement, 1971-75. Abidjan, 1972.

République de Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère du Plan. Plan quinquennal de développement, 1976-80, Volume III, 3. Abidjan, 1976.

République de Côte d'Ivoire, Présidence de la République. Decree 77-147, 9 March 1977.

République de Côte d'Ivoire, Secrétariat d'Etat chargé de l'enseignement primaire et de la télévision éducative, Sous-direction de l'éducation extra-scolaire. Esquisse méthodologique pour la définition de politiques pédagogiques de l'éducation extra-scolaire. Abidjan, 1974.

Schramm, Wilbur. Notes on case studies of instructional media projects. Washington, D.C.: Clearinghouse on Development Communication, A.I.D. Studies in Educational Technology, 1971.

Schramm, W.; Coombs, P. H.; Kahnert, F.; Lyle, J. The new media: Memo to Educational Planners. Paris: UNESCO/IIEP, 1967.